THE EMPIRE CLUB

ADDRESSES 1968-1969

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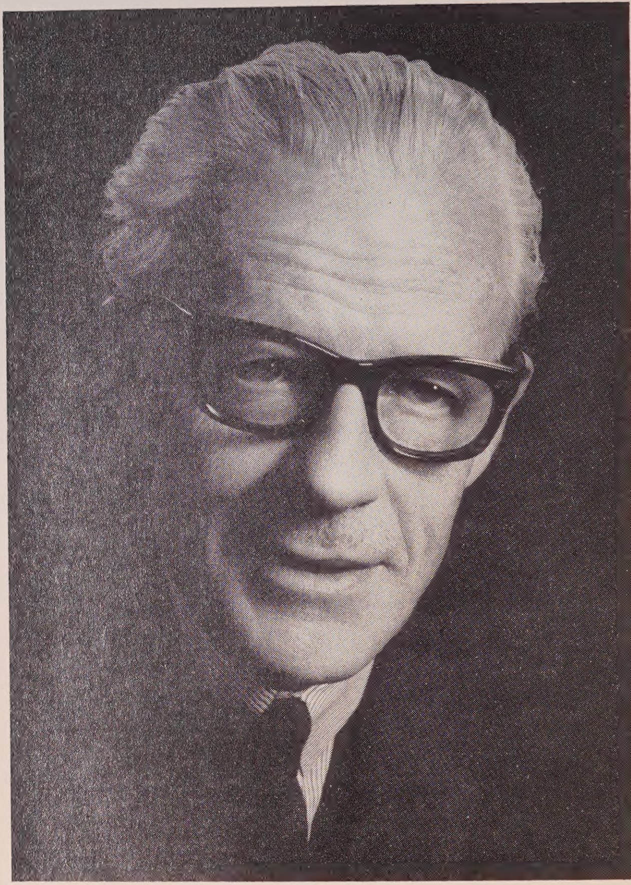
The Empire Club of Canada

1968 – 1969

67th Year



EDWARD B. JOLLIFFE, Q.C.
President – 1968-1969

ADDRESSES 1968-1969

CANADA AND A UNITED COMMONWEALTH

The Empire Club of Canada

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

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The Empire Club of Canada

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†*Deceased*

EXCERPT FROM *Origin and Objects of*
the Empire Club
PUBLISHED IN *The Year Book*
for 1903-04

On November 18th, 1903, a small meeting was held in Webb's Restaurant, Toronto, mainly on the initiative of Lieut. Col. James Mason, for the purpose of preliminary discussion. The Chairman in a brief speech pointed to the desirability of an organization, following the plan of weekly luncheons, to be addressed by prominent men, or men speaking with authority upon the issues of the day, and having also a distinctive basis of British Unity in its work and policy.

A sub-Committee met on the following day and appointed . . . . . a Committee to draft a Constitution.

The meeting at which these principles and rules were approved and organization effected was held at the Luncheon hour on November 25th, in Webb's Restaurant, with some seventy gentlemen present . . . . after a discussion of various proposed names . . . . The Empire Club of Canada . . . . was approved by a large majority.

The opinions and views expressed in the Addresses contained in this volume are those of the speakers themselves and do not necessarily carry the full or partial endorsement of The Empire Club of Canada.

EMPIRE CLUB

D-DAY ANNIVERSARY 1969

The 25th Anniversary of D-Day was marked by a special dinner at which a large number of senior serving officers, veterans and civilians gathered to do honour to the valour of those Canadians and others who began the liberation of Europe in June 1944, with the greatest amphibious battle in history.

Field Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, who commanded the invading forces on D-Day, took a strong personal interest in the Empire Club's anniversary dinner from the inception of its planning. Unable to come himself, he recorded a message which was heard with rapt attention by all those present.

The special speaker of the evening was Major-General Sir Francis de Guingand, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O., who had been Lord Montgomery's Chief of Staff in North Africa and Europe.

He may be seen beyond Lieutenant-Governor W. Ross Macdonald and Lt. Col. E. A. Royce, E.D., the Chairman of the evening.

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MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS DE GUINGAND

The Empire Club of Canada

OCTOBER 4, 1968

The Economic Challenge to the West

AN ADDRESS BY

The Right Hon. Roy Jenkins,
CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (U.K.)

CHAIRMAN

The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

Our guest of honour today is Chancellor of the Exchequer in Her Majesty's Government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Born on Armistice Day, 48 years ago, he could be accused of having grown up in politics because his father was a miners' leader, M.P. and Parliamentary Secretary to Lord Attlee during the second world war, but under his own power he had a brilliant academic career at Cardiff and Oxford, served in the field with the Royal Artillery and after the war wrote a number of books including biographies of Lord Attlee and an earlier Prime Minister, Lord Asquith. He spent two years with the Industrial and Commercial Finance Corporation, was Chairman of the Fabian Society, contributed extensively to many newspapers and periodicals as well as to statements of Labour Party policy.

The Chancellor was first elected to the House of Commons in 1948 and members of this Club will be interested to know that he quickly became Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

Later, while sitting in opposition he achieved the rare and difficult, if not impossible feat of getting a private member's bill through Parliament, the Obscene Publications Act of 1959. He had also played a very active part in the Council of Europe and the Assembly of the Western European Union. Among his other interests he has been a member of the Management Committee of the Society of Authors and a Governor of the British Film Institute.

On Labour's return to power in 1964 under Prime Minister Wilson, he became successively Minister of Aviation, Home Secretary, and then, almost a year ago, Chancellor of the Exchequer. In any modern government there is perhaps no more difficult or demanding post. We are told in the 10th chapter of Ecclesiastes that "Wine maketh merry, but money answereth all things," and Ben Franklin more recently added the depressing observation that "If you would know the value of money, go and try to borrow some." It's difficult to get along with and even more difficult to get along without.

In a period when the pound, the United States dollar – and the Canadian dollar – have all had their trials and tribulations, the British Chancellor has acquitted himself with courage, vigour and distinction. We warmly welcome him here today: the Right Honourable Roy Harris Jenkins.

MR. JENKINS:

Mr. Chairman, Ministers, Treasurer, and Gentlemen: It's a great pleasure and honour for me to be here today. This is the first time I have ever been to the city of Toronto, and it is the first time I have ever made a speech on Canadian soil. And I think it particularly appropriate that I should have the opportunity of doing so to this old and distinguished club which I know has been kind enough to invite many English visitors, including I am sure, some of my predecessors as Chancellor, to address them over the 65 years and a little more that it has been meeting regularly on these luncheon occasions. I'm most grateful to those who have come to support me today: Mr. Benson, the Minister of Finance whom I have seen in the past fortnight, both in London at the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' meeting and in Washington at the meeting of the IMF and the World Bank. He has not only been good enough to turn up but he was good enough to send an aeroplane in order to enable me to get here at all. So I am particularly grateful to him. And I am also delighted to see the Treasurer from the Government of Ontario here. Indeed it's quite a gathering of Finance Ministers which we have got today.

Being a Finance Minister – as I am sure my two colleagues will agree – is a fairly hazardous occupation. We are on the whole a poor but honest group of the population – much down-trodden by central bankers. Not because, contrary to the views of some people, central bankers try to impose policies upon Finance Ministers but because central bankers on the whole have much more agreeable lives than Finance Ministers do; much greater security of tenure; much less criticism and on the whole an easier time generally. I have been rather riccocheting from conference to conference in the last fortnight because, apart from the two at which I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Benson – the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' at which I presided and then the IMF – I had to put in a short appearance in the middle of a somewhat different form of gathering, the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool, and I was in a little danger of addressing the IMF under the impression they were the Labour Party – they didn't actually look all that different. And I suppose there is a certain danger of my addressing you today as though you were the IMF. And I don't know what gathering I shall address next week as though they were the Empire Club of Toronto; this is always possible.

Now I am due today, as you know, to talk to you about "The Economic Challenge to the West".

In recent years in the western community of nations, we have been preoccupied, although with somewhat varying intensity, both from country to country and from time to time, with the political and military challenge presented by the advance of the Communist world. And certainly events this summer in Czechoslovakia have shown the justification for this pre-occupation. But today, as is indeed implied in my title, I want to talk to you about a somewhat different form of challenge: the challenge which must be met if we are to seize the economic opportunities in front of us – opportunities both for enhancing our own prosperity as members of the advanced western world and for contributing to the well-being of the rest of the world.

For I think if there is one lesson that the economic history of this century has taught us or should have taught us, it is that, for the developed industrialised world at least, prosperity is indivisible, probably a good deal more so even than peace. Time and again we have seen the actions of one country have a direct and unavoidable influence on the economic conditions of the rest of the world. This interdependence of economies one upon another was, of course, given recognition in the structure of the institutions, and of the international treaty obligations, designed to foster world-wide financial and commercial co-operation that was built up during the early post-war years. And those organisations and those treaty arrangements have grown very big. We had, I think, 111 members of the Bank and 110 members of the Fund represented in Washington this week. But the heaviest responsibility and certainly the duty of leadership for preserving world economic order falls inevitably on the fairly small group of wealthy economic countries, the relatively wealthy economic countries in the West, with whom we in the United Kingdom and you in Canada certainly form a part.

Now by and large these are the countries which came together in 1960 to form the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. The Convention under which the OECD was set up embodied a statement of aims. And I should just like to remind you of these aims for they make a convenient starting point for defining the problems that face us in this field, and for measuring the degree of success we have so far had in dealing with them.

In that statement of aims the members of OECD agreed to promote policies which would be designed:

First, to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in member countries while maintaining financial stability;

Second, to contribute to sound expansion in those countries – both member and non-member – that were in the process of economic development;

And third, to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.

How successful have we been in realising these aims? Let me begin with economic growth. There is no question that, by any past standards, output among the wealthy countries has grown remarkably – remarkably, and on the whole fairly consistently. Since the late 1940s the OECD countries have enjoyed a period of unprecedented prosperity looking back at the whole history of the industrialised world. In 1960, the members set themselves a target of raising their combined output in the ensuing decade by a half – by 50 per cent. At the time, there were a lot of people who thought this very rash – 50 per cent increase in ten years. But looking back at the half-way stage two years ago, the OECD countries were able to report that they were ahead of the target. Nor has growth been confined to domestic economies, operating in isolation from each other. For during this period there has been a still more rapid growth in international trade, and indeed the most rapid period of growth the world has known. Now it's true, unfortunately, that not all have shared that growth in equal measure. Progress amongst the industrial countries themselves has been uneven; and perhaps still more disturbing the gap between richer and poorer nations has certainly not narrowed – it has on the contrary tended to widen. But the achievement of those years is still not, in my view, to be lightly regarded. It is upon the activity of the more powerful economies that the level of growth of world trade depends; and if that growth falters the prospects of the poorer nations will become very dim indeed.

So the first challenge we face is to consolidate, and where possible strengthen, the international framework within which that expansion of world trade has taken place. Now one danger we have seen has been a threat to the stability of the international monetary system, which on several occasions in the past year has reached fairly acute proportions. I believe that the post-war monetary system, with the IMF at its core, has on the whole served the world well. It has underpinned the greatest period of expansion in output and trade in history and that is one of the best tests which one can apply to a monetary system. And it has been supported by two further developments: by the habit of close collaboration that has grown up between the leading Central Banks, and by the network of regular intergovernmental consultations on financial and other economic matters which have been developed within the machinery provided by the OECD.

Recently, however, doubts have arisen about the capacity of this system to stand up to acute stress. It has long been known that the supply of new gold – much of which, in any case, has disappeared into private hoards – was inadequate to meet the world's needs for increasing liquidity. That inadequacy was masked for a time by the large and persistent outflow of dollars from the United States caused by the United States deficit. But earlier this year it became apparent that this outflow, while certainly a contribution to world liquidity, could not continue indefinitely without itself becoming a danger to the stability of the system.

In March of this year we had a major gold crisis and a very serious test that week-end of the 17th of March of international monetary co-operation. The two-tier system which was then worked out and agreed upon in Washington in a very short time was a signal achievement – it wasn't a perfect answer but it was the best practical answer to the situation we were in, and the general feeling that I found among Finance Ministers in Washington this week was that it is continuing to work well, surprisingly well perhaps. There are some, of course, who want to see the international monetary system more firmly based on gold, and on gold increased in price. I do not myself believe that this is the right answer. I think it would be inflationary. I think it would feed speculation on a further change in price and thus create instability rather than restore stability. And I am perfectly sure that the windfall profits which a price change would create would be distributed in an arbitrary and an unfair way.

At the meeting of Finance Ministers in Stockholm at the end of March, the meeting of the Group of Ten, I became more convinced than before even that there were other and better ways of developing the monetary system so as to underpin the steady growth of world trade and economic activity.

Of course the Special Drawing Rights scheme which was agreed in outline at Rio last September and since approved in its detailed form by the IMF is not going to solve all our problems overnight. It will be a fairly limited contribution. But it is an important step in the right direction. It is to some extent a symbolic step because it does help to provide a rational way and a fair way, too, I think, of adding to world liquidity when the need is there. And I hope very much that we will see the scheme activated at an early date. I was glad to find this view widely shared by my colleagues in Washington.

Also during this year and more recently we have seen the Basle arrangements in order to give greater stability to sterling, in order to enable us to be able to carry some diversification of the sterling balances which has taken place in order to share some part of that burden, in the short run at any rate, with some other countries. Canada of course, athough a member of the Commonwealth, the only member of the Commonwealth, has been a member of the group of Basle countries which helped to provide the facilities. And I am most grateful to the Canadian Government for the far-sightedness which they and the other countries have shown in proceeding in this direction. The sterling balances were debts accumulated basically as long ago as World War II – they have changed in composition but not greatly in amounts since then – and which have been a considerable potential burden on the United Kingdom and a considerable possible element of instability in the world financial situation. And I think the arrangements which we have been able to make over the past few months, first with the group of countries represented at Basle, broadly speaking the developed richer countries, and secondly with forty Sterling Area countries, most but not all of them in the Commonwealth, mark a major step towards recognising the place, possibly the slightly more limited place, which sterling will play in the world of the future, and remove an element of instability which could restrict our rate of economic progress in the United Kingdom and could also threaten the stability of the system as a whole. Now liquidity which I have mainly but not entirely been talking about so far, Mr. Chairman, is one major aspect of the international problem, but another which confronts us very sharply at the present time is to find ways of bringing about adjustments in countries' balance of payments with the least avoidable disturbance. During the past ten years, the United States has run persistent deficits and the United Kingdom has run recurring, varying, but on the whole substantial deficits too. At the same time the Common Market countries together have been substantially in surplus. Other countries have varied between the two positions. But the imbalance between the EEC countries on the one hand and the United States and Britain on the other has been the dominant feature in the international payments situation during the past decade. And I think it is generally agreed that this is a position which should not and cannot persist. I may say that it has also introduced one other element of imbalance into the situation which I think from some arrangements you have just been making here so far as the Government of Ontario is concerned you may be well aware of. The imbalance I think has arisen from the fact that the two countries in the world whose capitals, London and New York, have traditionally been outward looking financial capitals with a tradition of overseas lending, have been the capitals of countries with these big and on the whole persistent balance of payments deficits. Whereas the surplus countries have had capital markets which traditionally have been inward looking, have not been geared to overseas lending. And this, the countries with the surpluses not having capital markets so arranged, the countries with the deficits having them so arranged has clearly been an element of asymmetry in the situation here and I know that you have done recently, so far as the Government of Ontario is concerned, something to tap the capital resources of the German capital markets which I think is an entirely sensible direction to go in, both for developed countries like Canada and developing countries elsewhere in the world. But I think that this imbalance, this persistent imbalance, on the part of the U.S. and the United Kingdom is something which must now come to an end. We in the United Kingdom believe that we are now firmly in the process of eliminating the deficit in our balance which has bedeviled our economy for so long. Following devaluation of sterling last November, the hard budget which I had to bring in in March and the other measures we have taken to restrain the growth of domestic demand, I believe the prospects for a lasting solution to this problem are now vastly more encouraging than they have been for a long time past. We always knew that the benefits, the effects, the beneficial effects of devaluation on the balance of payments would take some time to come through. But we are now beginning to see the effects in better trade figures, with a particularly buoyant trend in our exports. We have already reached the export performance, the level of export performance, by the late summer of this year, which we expected to reach in the early months of 1969. It is true that our imports are also somewhat higher than we hoped they would be but if we can reach the same result which we want and must reach, the same substantial surplus, and a slightly higher level of trade on both sides of the account, that would be equally satisfactory from the point of view of our needs and rather more beneficial and helpful to world trade as a whole.

And I firmly believe that this strong upward trend in exports can continue because it is fortified by other perhaps more significant improvements in our competitive position than those arising from devaluation. We have this year seen a very substantial improvement in productivity. We have seen a substantial restructuring of British industry involving some difficult mergers but I believe with worthwhile results in the end taking place. And I think that as a result of these and other measures we are seeing apart from the devaluation effects itself, a strong improvement in our general competitive position. What we have to do here and what is of crucial importance to the future of the British economy, is to make a marginal but very important shift in resources – from consuming a little too much, from importing a little too much, and exporting a little too little. One is dealing only with matters of one or two per cent. But in each case these one or two per cents can be absolutely crucial because not only have they produced this series of balance of payments crises but through having these balance of payments crises on our shoulders, this has had an inhibiting effect upon our being able to get a steady and secure growth rate in the past couple of decades. And we are at the moment absolutely resolved to make every sacrifice which may be necessary in order to make sure that we make these shifts in resources and achieve not just a short-term but a decisive long-term improvement in our payments position because we believe that this is our duty to the world, it's our duty to repay a debt, it's our duty to strengthen our reserves, it's the best contribution we can make to the stability of the system.

We believe that, but we also believe extremely firmly that it is in our long-term interests to put this old fault right even at some considerable sacrifice at the present time because that is the key to secure growth and a higher prosperity in the future. And we have not hesitated in the past year to take difficult, major measures in order to make sure that this happens. The budget, as I say, which I had to introduce in March, was probably the harshest in peace or war which any Chancellor has ever had to introduce. We also made – my two colleagues will know how difficult these decisions are to make – some difficult, unpopular decisions so far as public expenditure is concerned. We are applying a very rigid credit squeeze. We are applying, and shall continue to apply, a wages policy, a prices and incomes policy backed by legal powers, really without parallel in the western world. Such a policy is by its very nature not an easy policy, certainly not a popular policy, to carry through. The British Government has suffered politically to some extent both within the party and outside from doing this. But we are quite resolved to carry on with whatever measures are necessary in order to achieve the results, not really to get us into a balance of payments surplus in 1969 – although goodness knows, that is essential and well within our grasp – but to get us on to a plane of a different balance of payments performance for the 70s than anything we have seen in the 50s or the 60s so far. It is also the case that the United States is also endeavouring – and will, I believe, succeed in bringing about a substantial improvement in its own balance of payments position. That in itself we all welcome, but let's not underestimate the task which faces the western world. To see both the United Kingdom and the United States – they are much more important from this point of view – swinging out of deficit and into – in the case of the United Kingdom certainly – into substantial surplus at the same time, and to achieve these big turn-arounds without a damaging effect upon the rate of growth of world trade, is going to demand very high economic statesmanship indeed. And it is going to demand it particularly from the surplus countries. A deficit country has many disadvantages for the world. To be too big a surplus country can also have many disadvantages. And there are great responsibilities which rest upon and are broadly recognised by the persistent surplus countries mainly in Europe, and whether we can in the next year achieve this essential swing-round in the performance of the United Kingdom and the United States without damaging effects on trade between all the industrial countries, with very damaging repercussions on the developing countries does depend very much on as we and the United States move out of deficit, so other countries should move out of surplus or at any rate away from very substantial surpluses which they are running at the present time. The vast growth of world trade which we have seen so far has largely been caused by the determined policies of economic growth in all the major countries but I think that what we have achieved by moving towards greater freedom of trade has also been very important. And certainly the moves that we have seen in recent years, as exemplified for example by the successful conclusion of the Kennedy Round in Geneva last year, doesn't begin to justify complacency on the part of any of us. We have achieved some notable reductions in tariffs through international negotiations but the development of trade can be threatened by the emergence of balance of payments difficulties in particular countries. It would be a tragedy if so soon after the achievement of last summer, the world were to show any signs of lapsing into protectionism and permitting the recreation of new barriers to trade. And now Canada, I believe, Mr. Chairman, has a most important part to play in all these developments. And it was extremely satisfactory to me and to many others and, I am sure, to you, to note that the pressure on the Canadian dollar, which was a feature of the early months of this year, was so quickly and efficiently brought under control. And now it appears to me that the excellent performance of Canadian exports during the current year should provide some substantial safeguards against a recurrence of any such pressure and enable Canada to pursue a policy of fair expansion.

Now so far I have not said anything, but I only want to speak very briefly, about our obligations to the developing countries. Nothing is more important for those countries than that we in the West should maintain a high level of economic activity and so generate a high demand for their raw materials and other exports. And therefore, while discussing Western problems, one is also discussing the problems of the under-developed world. But their need for financial assistance as well as for good export markets is also great. And while there is now a very substantial flow of resources, not all of which is aid from the West to the developing countries, the total is far from sufficient. I believe that Canada has an outstanding record in this respect. It is certainly making its full contribution towards what is sometimes called the development decade.

But whether or not it is the development decade we have yet to produce a repetition of the great upsurge in aid that came about in the late 1950s. It is, I suppose, inevitable that balance of payments restraints should be reflected in the need to redirect our national resources that has now caused us in Britain to restrain what had hitherto been a steady rise in annual aid disbursements. But I suspect that, taking the Western world at large, the failure to promote a large flow of aid owes as much to a lack of political will as to purely economic or financial reasons. And I think the will to help must be recreated, because unless we can find a solution to this problem, I think that all our economic achievements in the West will not be reflected in the level of achievement throughout the world as a whole. And this is bound to have dangerous repercussions upon all of us. Looking back therefore, over the past year, I see some reason for satisfaction. We have overcome very great monetary crises. We have overcome them quickly and with good nerve and in a good co-operative spirit. We have got a fair amount of momentum behind the SDR scheme to which, as I indicated earlier, I attach importance beyond its arithmetical content because I think it marks the beginning of our ability to make rational world liquidity. We are I think seeing both the United States and the United Kingdom on the way to eliminating their persistent deficits which have been a de-stabilising force. The big question mark is whether in these circumstances we can achieve this necessary swing-around in these two big countries without any undue restriction upon the growth of world trade. It will be more possible to answer that in a year's time. But it will certainly be a great set-back to many of our hopes if we are not able to achieve this. It will on the contrary be, as I say, a great tribute to general economic statesmanship in the developed countries if we can so achieve it. And at the same time we have a great demand for help from the rest of the world, only very partially met at the moment, but the possibility of meeting it, depending essentially on our keeping full prosperity going within the developed world itself.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. E. A. Royce.

OCTOBER 17, 1968

A New "National Policy" for Canada

AN ADDRESS BY Professor Melville Watkins,
"THE WATKINS REPORT"

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

There was an ancient custom that the messengers who brought bad news should be slain. I believe Cleopatra was a notable subscriber to that practice. In modern times there is a group which strives for objectivity but is often divided by the public into two categories – those who bear good news and those who bring bad tidings. I refer to the economists.

I don't know in which category our speaker today is classified, but I think he should be heard and not put to the sword. He has very high qualifications. He was trained at the University of Toronto and M.I.T., returning to teach at Toronto in 1958. He also taught at Moscow University and at Harvard University, the modern equivalent of teaching at both Rome and Carthage. He lectures regularly at the Canadian Forces Staff School and the Canadian Forces Staff College. He is past Chairman of the Governing Council of Rochdale College and now President of the University League for Social Reform.

About two years ago he was asked by the Hon. Walter Gordon, President of the Privy Council to head an inquiry into certain aspects of Canadian economic development.

The report of his task force, dated Jan. 12, of this year was entitled "Foreign Ownership in the Structure of Canadian Industry", later tabled in the House of Commons.

Now he is studying Canadian policy as to outward investments with particular reference to the External Aid Office.

Prof. Melville A. Watkins.

"A New National Policy for Canada."

MR. WATKINS:

I very much appreciate the honour of addressing you today. It is a particular pleasure to appear before you when your President, Mr. Jolliffe, is one of my long-standing heroes and your first Vice-President, Mr. Macdonald, is one of my old undergraduate friends and former colleague at the University.

I should make it clear that I appear before you as a private citizen and that the views expressed in this address are entirely personal. The Task Force which I headed is now dissolved. I certainly do not speak for the Government of Canada, though I feel privileged that one of the most illustrious members of the last Government, the Hon. W. L. Gordon, is at your head table today. Nor do I speak for any other members of the Task Force, though my views have benefited greatly from my association with them, and none more than Professors Safarian and Rotstein who also grace your head table today.

I wish to speak with you today of the Report on foreign ownership which we prepared, but, as my title indicates, in the broad context of a new National Policy for Canada.

No member of a club bearing your name needs to be reminded of the historic National Policy of Sir John A. Macdonald – a policy centring on the tariff which was intended to promote Canadian industrialization and Canadian independence, both economic and political. In the words of the Task Force Report:

"The old National Policy served Canada in its day, as an

> instrument of nation-building and a means of facilitating economic growth. The challenges have changed and a new National Policy is required. The nation has been built, but its sovereignty must be protected and its independence maintained. A diversified economy has been created, but its efficiency must be improved and its capacity for autonomous growth increased."

Now it is true that differences of opinion persist to the present day about the efficacy of the old National Policy. Historians, on the one hand, seem to be virtually unanimous in their view that the tariff was an invaluable instrument of nation-building, and that economic nationalism was necessary for political independence and the creation of a national economy. Economists, on the other hand, have tended to imply that the National Policy, by lowering the standard of living, weakened the material base on which political independence must stand and on which continuing economic growth must be based. They do, however, grudgingly concede that it permitted a larger Canada to develop in terms of population and aggregate income, and hence helped to build the economy and the nation.

But there would be general agreement that the old National Policy, in terms of its relevance as a *central* direction for government policy, is now a thing of the past. So far as protective tariffs are concerned, economic nationalism is hardly a viable creed. But history does not stand still, and the main issue of economic independence today has shifted to foreign ownership.

Now foreign direct investment – that is, foreign investment that carries with it ownership and control – is not a new phenomenon in Canada. Indeed, its roots were firmly planted in the period of the old National Policy. The Canadian tariff enclosed the Canadian market. Foreign firms, which had previously exported to Canada, now found it necessary to shift their production to Canada. The tariff created Canadian industry, but without sufficient Canadian entrepreneurship and hence new industry which was not under Canadian ownership and control.

Why did the Canadian tariff create Canadian industries but not Canadian firms? Some credit must be given to the expansive drive of American corporations. But to some extent these corporations flowed into a vacuum resulting from an entrepreneurial failure in Canada.

Now one of the most honoured themes of Canadian historiography has been that the state has played an important role in promoting and shaping Canadian economic development. In this historical scenario, the deficiencies of private entrepreneurship have been compensated for by public entrepreneurship.

But the point has clearly been exaggerated, as the extent of actual reliance on foreign entrepreneurship attests. Looked at in these terms, the problem with the tariff, now so much abused in Canada for being too much, was rather that it was too little. Instead of creating a Canadian business class capable of leading Canadian economic growth, it created only an emasculated business class satisfied, by and large, to manage a branch plant economy.

My argument is that a successful National Policy should have created Canadian entrepreneurship capable of dominating the Canadian economy. The prime task of the old National Policy is yet to be completed. This should be seen as the central task of a new National Policy, and other aspects of policy, including the tariff, should be framed in this light.

Let us now put foreign ownership at the centre of the stage. The extent of foreign ownership and control of Canadian economic activity is too well known to this audience to require detailed presentation. Suffice it to quote the opening sentence of the Task Force Report: "The extent of foreign control of Canadian industry is unique among the industrialized nations of the world".

In the language of the economist, foreign direct investment creates both benefits and costs for host countries such as Canada. It is clear that the economic benefits resulting from easier access to foreign technology, capital, entrepreneurship and markets are positive and have made a substantial contribution to Canada's present high standard of living.

But in the process of reaping potential benefits from foreign ownership there have been a variety of costs. One of these, much emphasized by the Report, is the simple failure to get as large benefits as was possible because of inappropriate industrial policy in Canada. Benefits are reduced by the absence of sufficient competition in Canada to keep costs and prices down. Economists conventionally view this phenomenon as primarily due to the combination of a high tariff policy and a weak anti-combines policy. As well, the cost may inhere in foreign investment insofar as the American industrial structure is repeated in miniature in Canada, with a consequent proliferation of smaller firms unwilling to risk price competition among themselves.

A basic fact almost never made explicit is the deficiency, quantitative and qualitative, of indigenous Canadian firms. Foreign firms are not compelled to operate efficiently due to the absence of competition from efficient Canadian firms. Rather, foreign firms take over local markets and create higher barriers to entry for new domestic firms, thereby inhibiting Canadian entrepreneurship. In this sense, the major cost of foreign ownership is not only the reduction of economic benefits but the restriction in the growth of Canadian entrepreneurship.

It should be clear that political consequences inhere in this economic nexus. Foreign direct investment implies control by large foreign-based corporations with a consequent tendency for the locus of decision-making to shift outside the host country to the board rooms of the parent corporation. Policies of the home government then apply rather than policies of the host government. Key decisions relevant to Canadians are thus made by Americans in corporate board rooms in New York and in government conference rooms in Washington.

But, at a more fundamental level, the basic fact is Canadian complicity in this arrangement. Canadian government officials, when confronted with actual intrusions of American law and policy into Canada, tend to sweep them under the rug in the name of quiet diplomacy. Faced in the last few years with the unilateral imposition by the United States of the Interest Equalization Tax and balance-of-payments controls on direct investment, Canada has sought special status, though at the cost of further diminishing credibility as an independent country. The Canadian economy has increasingly taken on the character of a concessionary economy and our politics have had to be tailored to meet this fact.

What kinds of economic policy have emerged, generally speaking, in the midst of these events? What do we already have by way of a new national policy? Essentially two things: monetary-fiscal policy and industrial policy.

Now the level of prices and employment in Canada, on which monetary-fiscal policy are intended to operate, are mostly determined by the levels of each in the United States. In part because of special concessions wrung from Washington, our monetary policy is largely shackled in terms of influencing domestic prices and employment. At the moment, monetary-fiscal policies in Canada are essentially weapons to facilitate Canadian growth along the American growth path. Bluntly stated, the capacity of the Canadian government independently to create jobs and control inflation is negligible. Our present neo-Keynesian policies must not be confused with policies designed to create, or even maintain, Canadian independence.

Industrial policy has been associated with the recent discovery of a long-standing productivity gap between Canada and the United States and attention has centred largely on the Canadian tariff and, to a lesser extent, on Canadian anti-combines policy. Predictably, Canadian economists have been in favour of lowering the former and stiffening the latter. The Report reflects these biases, but with important caveats which I wish to underline.

With respect to anti-combines policy, Canada must guard against the danger that a stronger policy would reduce the ability of new, large, Canadian-controlled firms to develop through merger and thereby indirectly strengthen the power of existing foreign-controlled firms. The real name of the game for industrial policy-makers is to rationalize inefficient Canadian industries, and revision of the legislation should not be such as to preclude mergers which would further rationalization.

Similarly, changes in tariff legislation should be seen as but one part of a broader economic policy designed to rationalize our economy. While tariff reduction facilitates rationalization, given the existing extent of foreign ownership, it must do so in the context of multi-national corporations and in a manner appropriate to their mode of operation. When foreign-based firms rationalize their Canadian operations, the decisions will be made in head offices outside Canada, and a pattern of specialization is likely to be adopted that will require more parent company control for the indefinite future. When decision-making moves *to* the parent, it moves *from* the subsidiary. This could mean less sensitivity to Canadian interests and needs. It means that rationalization programmes should be accompanied by deliberate measures to ensure a stronger Canadian presence through Canadian ownership and through government policy.

What presently passes for national policy in Canada is insufficient. The set of monetary-fiscal policy and industrial policy now widely supported has not interfered with, but rather has probably facilitated, the recent drift toward continentalism.

A new national policy must centre on these concrete issues raised by foreign ownership. The beginning, but hopefully not the ending, would be to implement the proposals of the Task Force Report – if not its letter, at least its spirit.

There is a need to increase the economic benefits from foreign ownership – by rationalizing the structure of Canadian industry, by proper taxation of industries dominated by foreign-controlled subsidiaries along lines recommended by Carter, and by Canadian participation in ownership, including minority shares. There is a need to decrease political costs by setting up Canadian legal and administrative machinery to countervail the intrusion of United States law and practice with respect to trade with certain communist countries, anti-trust procedure, and balance of payments guidelines and controls imposed on direct investment firms.

Above all, things must be done to promote domestic entrepreneurship, private and public. The growth of the Canadian economy down to the present day has depended mainly on its capacity to export primary products. Canadian entrepreneurship would be a much more viable force were stronger policies pursued, at both the federal and provincial levels, to promote Canadian ownership of our resource industries. Increasingly, firms grow by their capacity to expand foreign operations. More encouragement should be given to Canadian firms to evolve into multi-national firms. A potentially important instrument for the achievement of such objectives, and one that would build on the Canadian propensity to mix the public and private sectors, is the Canada Development Corporation.

Just as the old National Policy had broad implications for nation-building, so a new National Policy should adhere to this objective. The failure to limit American extraterritoriality via the medium of the American subsidiary constrains the exercise of an independent foreign policy in Canada and thereby limits an essential manifestation of nationhood. Canada will be in a most anomalous position should Ottawa succeed in diplomatic recognition of China while our major corporations which happen to be American-controlled face formidable obstacles from Washington in trading with China.

The old National Policy was designed to curtail American manifest destiny by a strategy of "defensive expansion". A new National Policy must reassume that burden. Serious attention must be devoted to nurturing and sustaining Canadian institutions and values in the face of America's present erratic behaviour.

It is sometimes said that the pursuit of Canadian independence would involve undue costs in terms of reducing our standard of living. But the assumed dichotomy between political independence and economic benefits may be a false one. The extent of foreign ownership of Canadian economy activity has meant the creation of a branch-plant economy in Canada. Such an economy has inherent limitations in terms of its potential for economic growth in a world of constant innovation. A branch plant is not where the action is, in terms of new products, technologies and ideas, and neither is a branch plant economy. An economy more under our control might well have a greater capacity for autonomous and sustained growth.

To argue for a policy of Canadian independence, as I have today, is not to insist that a new National Policy should ignore other matters. The broader tasks of social reform are not precluded by focussing on economic independence. Rather, it is difficult to see how Canadians can implement more progressive, human, and social measures in an economy over which they have lost control.

And if I appear to suggest that Canadian nationalism is a good in itself, it is not to praise nationalism but rather to insist on the need for protection from larger and more terrible nationalisms which presently ravage the world.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. R. L. Armstrong.

OCTOBER 24, 1968

The Canada Council At Work

AN ADDRESS BY

Jean Martineau, Q.C.

PRESIDENT OF THE CANADA COUNCIL

CHAIRMAN Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.
The President,

MR. JOLLIFFE:

Our guest of honour today has had a most unusual and distinguished career.

A son of the late Mr. Justice Martineau, he was educated at the University of Montreal, called to the Bar in 1919 and quickly attained great eminence in his profession. He became Batonnier of the Montreal Bar and in 1953 Batonnier-General of the Bar of the Province of Quebec. He served as a Judge of the Court of Appeal and a Royal Commissioner from 1954 to 1959, when he resigned to return to his first love as a very active counsel and senior partner in the firm of Martineau, Walker, Allison, Beaulieu, Tetley and Phelan. He has also found time to be Chairman of the Quebec Advisory Council on the Administration of Justice, a member of the Advisory Council for the Order of Canada, and a director of important companies.

Our guest is a man of many parts. He is a great traveller, a connoisseur of the produce of the field and the vineyard, and I can certify that in the Court-room he is *un adversaire formidable.*

But man does not live by bread alone and no one knows this better than our guest. He has always had a zealous interest in arts and letters, of which he is a notable patron. His friends include many artists in this and other countries, and he must have agreed completely with the St. Laurent government more than a decade ago when it took note that two of our leading taxpayers had passed away at about the same time, and that substantial funds thus became available to create and endow the Canada Council.

Today he is its Chairman and he has graciously agreed to speak to The Empire Club on the work of the Canada Council. Mr. Jean Martineau, Q.C., LL.D., D.C.L.

MR. MARTINEAU:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I was looking forward to this moment with confidence until I received, last Friday, the invitation to this luncheon sent to all of you and on which it was said that, if you accepted, you would hear a "brilliant and witty speaker". Whoever wrote this could show tricks to any Madison Avenue expert and he must be a firm believer in McLuhan's dictum that the media is the message.

Needless to say that, after reading this card, I became a thoroughly frightened man and the introduction of your Chairman, as misleading to you as it was friendly to me, did nothing to restore my confidence. I must therefore warn you that you will have to accept me at my worst, which can be very bad indeed.

However, this does not prevent me from being very grateful to your Chairman and officers for having thought of inviting me to be the guest speaker at a luncheon of this historic Club, nor from being proud in the knowledge that you do not look at me as a stranger but as a fellow citizen of our beloved Country, nor of being happy for feeling so at home in your great city, where I have so many friends.

How times have changed, and for the better! About twenty years ago, a client of our firm was buying a rather large business in an important town of Ontario and I had to make many trips there before the deal was closed. I did not at first feel completely confident because I had the impression of being in a strange land. I also soon became conscious that the business man with whom I was dealing was watching me with a suspicious and then a surprised look in his eyes. Well, the papers were signed and about a million and a half dollars changed hands and, subsequently, the seller happily invited us all to his country club, where many toasts were drunk. Our host then said to me: "Mr. Martineau, I have a question to ask you but you must first promise me that it will not offend you". This was of course a question which could only be asked by a person who has somewhat lost his sense of logic but, as I was in the same state, I unhesitatingly assured him that I would not mind any question he would put to me. The question was this: "Mr. Martineau, you are the first French-Canadian I have ever spoken to. Are you a typical one?", which was meant of course as a compliment, but solely to me. I assured him that I was only too typical a French-Canadian, so our host said: "If this is so, how mistaken I have been all my life". So, to celebrate our new-found understanding, we had of course another toast.

When your Chairman invited me, he gave me the choice of the subject of my address and I thought that such a great occasion to make better known the Canada Council should not be missed, and I will therefore speak to you about it.

1. In 1957, the Canadian government of the day decided to carry out one of the recommendations of the Massey Commission and to create the Canada Council, the name of which should really be "The Canada Council for the encouragement of the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences".
   (a) Miraculous times those days. We had a surplus of $500,000,000.
   (b) $100,000,000. given to the Council
   One-half to be used to help Universities and

similar institutions of learning in respect of building construction projects

One-half to be invested and the revenues thereof to be used to foster and promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of works in the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences;

(c) The Council was to be composed of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman and no more than 19 other members, to be appointed by the Governor-in-Council;

(d) The law stated that the Chairman and Vice-Chairman might be paid such salary or other amount by way of remuneration, and the members of the Council such allowance for each day while in attendance at meetings of the Council as might be fixed by the Governor-in-Council.

The per diem of the members was fixed at $50. and has remained so ever since, and *no Chairman or Vice-Chairman*, including the present ones, were ever paid any salary or remuneration.

2. During most first years –

(a) $3,000,000. to spend seemed inexhaustible; and

(b) This sum soon became inadequate because needs were increasing all the time and everywhere, while the revenues remained about the same.

3. In 1965, representations were made to the then Secretary of State, the honourable Maurice Lamontagne, that the Council could not fulfill its object without a very important increase in its revenues. Mr. Lamontagne recognized this fact and soon afterwards the government voted to the Council a sum of $10,000,000 to be spent in the course of the next three years.

(a) Everyone was happy during the following year because we were able to increase our grants and help many institutions and persons, whom we had been unable to help up to that time.

(b) However, the inevitable result was felt immediately and, before the first year ended, we asked the government to authorize us to spend the balance of the $10,000,000 during the second year, which it authorized us to do, so that in 1965-66 the Council distributed $6,832,047. and in 1966-67 the sum of $11,133,041.

4. Of course the same causes produced the same results. The more help was given the more needs were created and we therefore returned again to the Secretary of State, who was then the Honourable Judy LaMarsh, and explained the situation to her. She was very understanding and, thanks to her efforts and to the enlightened views of the Cabinet, Parliament voted the Council the sum of $16,000,000. which brought to about $20,000,000. the amount which the Council could distribute during the year 1967-68. The government further agreed to increase its subsidy to $21,000,000. for the year 1968-69. However, this subsidy was slightly reduced because of the government's austerity programme, but the Council should anyway be able to make grants up to about $25,000,000. during the present year.

5. I might digress here for a moment and say:
   (a) that the Council administers the Cultural Exchange Treaty between Canada and France, Belgium and Switzerland;
   (b) The National Commission of UNESCO is also looked after partially by the Council;

6. The Council has received gifts, the largest amounting to about $16,000,000. from the Dorothy Killam estate, $600,000. from the Molson foundation and lately a legacy of $700,000. by a distinguished Canadian citizen whose name I am not now at liberty to disclose.

7. Budget for 1968-69:

(a) The Humanities and Social Sciences	$16,000,000
(b) The Arts	9,240,000

8. The Humanities and Social Sciences:
    (a) Doctoral fellowships; Post-doctoral fellowships; Sabatical fellowships; Research grants; Publications; Exchanges; Research collections; Special awards;
    (b) In 1967-68: The Council gave 769 grants to career scholars, that is for post-doctoral fellowships, leave fellowships and grants for research;
    (c) It gave 1554 doctoral fellowships; and
    (d) $1,000,000 to universities for research collections;

9. (a) Grants made after competitions first decided by three judges who rank the applicants;
    (b) The decisions of the judges are submitted to the Academic Panel presided by the Vice-Chairman of the Council and composed of 17 persons, including 3 members of the Council, chosen across the land;
    This panel reviews the work of the judges and makes its own report;
    (c) This report and the decision of the judges are given to the officers of the Council who study them and make their submissions;
    (d) These recommendations are then studied by the Academic Committee of the Council which is composed mostly of university men;
    (e) The report of this Committee is thereafter submitted to the Council sitting as a whole and discussed thoroughly. The awards are then made.

10. Some special demands are submitted to the Academic

Panel and then to the Council when they are of such a nature that they cannot form part of the general competitions;

11. The Arts: $9,240,000 divided as follows:
    (a) Assistance to individuals: $1,725,000
        (i) Bursaries: 800,000
            Number of applicants – 698
            Number of bursaries – 214
            Average value – $3,740
        (ii) Awards: $575,000
            Number of applicants – 280
            Number of awards – 83
            Average value – $6,950
        (iii) Short-term awards, travel grants, etc.: $350,000
    (b) Festivals: $470,000
    (c) Other grants: $280,000

    Conferences, studies, artists in residence, etc.

12. Music: $1,720,000
        (i) Orchestras: $1,230,000
        (ii) Chamber music: 87,000
        (iii) Other music: 403,000
            Music Centre,
            La jeunesse Musicale, etc.

13. Operas: $645,000
    increase over 1967-68 of $220,000 that is 51.8%

14. Dance: $930,000
    increase over last year of $175,000 or 23.1%

15. Theatre: $2,000,000
    (i) Theatre companies: $1,545,000
    (ii) Other theatre: 455,000
        The National Theatre School;

The Canadian Theatre Centre;
The Dominion Drama Festival;
The Theatre Arts Development Programme;

16. Visual Arts: $960,000
    - (i) Galleries: $609,000
      40% increase
    - (ii) Films: 100,000
      25% increase
      Includes:
      La Cinémathèque Canadienne
      Canadian Film Institute
      The Vancouver Film Festival
      The Montreal International Film Festival;
    - (iii) Other visual arts: $251,000
      Arts Canada
      Vie des Arts
      Purchase awards, etc.

17. Creative writing: $250,000

18. Panels, Committees, etc.: $60,000
    All of these grants, except a few short-term awards and travel grants, are made by competition following the same system which I explained a few moments ago, except that the decisions of the judges are reviewed by an Advisory Arts Panel, then by the Arts Committee of the Council and finally by the Council sitting as a whole.

20. All the other awards, except a few small ones, are studied first by the Arts Panel, then the Arts Committee and finally by the Council itself.

21. No pressure whatever from anyone. Members are free at all times to decide according to their judgment and conscience.

22. However, even if free, it is not always easy to decide when the Arts are concerned;
    (a) They must satisfy the public, but must also understand artists; and
    (b) An open mind is therefore necessary, though hard for the older ones;
        (i) Music – Schoenberg
        (ii) Painting – Picasso
        (iii) Sculpture – Moore
        (iv) Bizarre – Ortiz

GRANTS GIVEN TO TORONTO ORGANIZATIONS BY THE CANADA COUNCIL

1968-69 Season

MUSIC	*Amount*	*Month*
National Youth Orchestra	$ 25,000	April
Canadian Opera Company	$260,000	April
Toronto Symphony Orchestra	$265,000	May
Canadian Music Centre	$ 2,500	May
Festival Singers Toronto	$ 37,000	Sept.
Toronto Repertory Ensemble	$ 7,585	Sept.
THEATRE		
Treatre Toronto	$ 13,000	April
Theatre Toronto	$125,000	Sept.
Canadian Theatre Centre	$ 89,000	May
Toronto Workshop Productions	$ 35,000	May
ARTS		
Toronto Arts Foundation	$ 15,000	Sept.
New School of Art	$ 10,000	Sept.
Intersystems	$ 10,500	May
BALLET		
National Ballet Guild of Canada	$350,000	April
National Ballet School	$100,000	Sept.

MUSEUMS		
Royal Ontario Museum	$ 80,000	April
Art Gallery of Ontario	$140,000	May
TOTAL	$1,564,585	

23. What impact has had the Canada Council?

Immense, I would say without modesty;

(a) In the fields of the Humanities and Social Sciences,
  (i) It has made possible researches which otherwise would not have been made by Canadian scholars;
  (ii) It has allowed thousands of graduates to obtain a Ph.D., thereby helping to train Canadian students to become professors of our schools of higher learning;
  (iii) It has contributed to the purchase of research collections by universities without which our young men could not have completed their graduate studies without going to other countries.

(b) In the field of the Arts:
  (i) It has helped train a great number of artists of whom Canada is now proud;
  (ii) It is in great part responsible for the incredible forward strides of the theatre, of music, of ballet (voir Toronto list of the year).
  (iii) It has helped a great many Canadian writers, composers, painters and sculptors to create original works;
  (iv) It has caused Canadians to acquire a lively interest in many forms of arts, an interest which holds for them the promise of a more understanding mind, of a more human heart and, therefore, of a fuller life.

24. Thus, The Canada Council has helped and continues to help the blossoming of a true Canadian culture, that is one born of our own spirit and genius. This does not mean an ingrown culture, blind and ignorant of others, but a culture which has become great enough, though indigenous, to enlarge and enrich the universal one.

25. The members of the Canada Council are grateful for the opportunity given to them of contributing to this great achievement and they are happy in the thought that their work is helping national unity; the Arts, the Humanities and the Social Sciences, knowing no boundaries between provinces, no barrier of languages nor of distances.
It is true that this unity is at last within our grasp but we all must make sure that it is finally attained and then never lost.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. Sydney Hermant.

OCTOBER 31, 1968

Labour's Prime Concerns Today

AN ADDRESS BY Donald MacDonald,
PRESIDENT, CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

Some thirty years ago, the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who knew our Maritime Provinces quite well, was sailing off the shores of Cape Breton, and called in at a small port which I need not name. A group of leaders in the local community, headed by the Mayor, were welcomed aboard and introduced one by one to the President: a MacNeill, a Gillis, a MacInnis, a Muir, Morrison, MacEachen. When the introductions were complete, the President raised his hands in utter disbelief: "What!" he said – "No Macdonalds".

We do not have that problem today.

Our distinguished guest is a member of the famous MacDonald clan, or clans, Cape Breton branch, which was chartered long before Governor Simcoe ever saw the Don Valley. However, he himself was born in Halifax and was educated at the Sydney Academy and St. Francis Xavier University, which has more recently made him a Doctor of Laws. He was educated also as a coal miner, became President of Local 4560 of the United Mine Workers, when he was only 21, and a leading member of the Credit Union and Co-operative Movement of Cape Breton which did much pioneer work in that field, including co-operative housing.

Mr. MacDonald was elected to the Nova Scotia Legislature in 1941 and led his party in that historic house through four years. He was Regional Director of the Canadian Congress of Labour and in 1951 became its National Secretary-Treasurer, continuing in that office when the Canadian Labour Congress was formed. He is a member of the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Central Council of the Canadian Red Cross and the National Committee for UNESCO. In May of this year he was elected President of the Canadian Labour Congress representing more than three-quarters of all union members in this country. Our speaker today – Mr. Donald MacDonald.

MR. MAC DONALD:

It is a very great honour to have the privilege of addressing you today. The reputation of The Empire Club of Canada as a forum for discussion by representatives of various groups is probably without equal in Canada. It seems to me that there has seldom, if ever, been a time in our history when there was so great a need for such discussion. Sharp differences of opinion and various forms of conflict seem to have become almost the order of the day.

We in the trade union movement are inevitably involved in areas of differences, and I therefore welcome this opportunity to discuss with you some of the matters that are of the greatest concern to us at the moment. I am well aware that many of you, probably the majority, are in one way or another allied with management and so are inclined to find yourselves, from time to time, in disagreement with some of the actions and policies of the organized labour movement.

It would, perhaps, be a little too much to hope that within the next few minutes I may be able to convert you into ardent trade unionists; but at least I hope I may be able to use this opportunity to explain to you, however, briefly, our attitude on several matters that have become public issues.

I have spoken of the prevalence of conflict. We find a restlessness, in some instances vague and in others very specific, being voiced by various sections of society and in many parts of the world. This is so general and often so forceful, that it cannot be brushed aside as a passing fad.

There is a widespread dissatisfaction on the part of a great many people and, as never before, they are giving voice to their sentiments. There are doubtless many reasons for this, but I would suggest that one of the chief causes is our failure to keep pace in human and social terms with the tremendous strides in scientific and technological advance that we have witnessed in the past few years. This is obvious in many areas.

We, as trade unionists, are primarily, and indeed solely, concerned with the welfare of people. We are naturally concerned with the well-being of those men and women whom we number among our members as trade unionists; but we also have a very deep concern – which has always been evident in the trade union movement – for all those who may be regarded as ordinary working people. We feel that, regardless of whether or not they happen to hold trade union cards, we have a responsibility to speak for them. It is of that relationship that I speak to you today.

Actual trade union membership in Canada now stands at well over two million, the highest figure in our history. I have noted that The Empire Club of Canada came into existence in 1903. In that year there were barely 125,000 union members in Canada. This growth is both interesting and significant because in recent years we have been hearing repeated forecasts about the decline of union organization. A good many of those who have access to public attention through the mass media and by other means, were not so long ago solemnly declaring that the day of union organization was nearing an end. The wish may have been the father of the thought; but certainly their predictions were wide of the mark.

In fact they are considerably wider of the mark than this figure of well over two million because, in addition to these men and women holding membership in recognized trade unions there are many thousands in organizations and associations which, while not formally regarded as unions, and often very shy about identifying themselves as unions, are functioning in exactly the same way as unions and are engaged very vigorously in collective bargaining. A more realistic combined figure would be 2,500,000.

It is, of course, in the area of bargaining that unions experience the sharpest conflict. This has particularly been the case in the past year or two, but unfortunately those on the sidelines often get exaggerated or misleading impressions about what is going on.

During 1967, for example, negotiations resulted in a number of important settlements which provided for wage increases. The impression was spread abroad that large numbers of union members were suddenly pocketing a 30% wage increase. This was outright nonsense. In the instances where 30% settlements were obtained they were usually for three-year contracts. And, apart from this, a more careful observation would disclose that the workers involved had for one reason or another lagged behind and they had reached the point where a catching-up process could no longer be delayed.

Government figures show that in major settlements the 1967 increases averaged about 7.6%. Recent figures covering wage developments under major collective agreements in the first part of 1968 show that average hourly base rates rose by just over 7% in the 12 months ended June 30.

I am by no means trying to disguise the fact that we have been going through a period of sharp conflict and that there has been a substantial increase in the number of disputes resulting in work stoppages. This is, to say the least, unfortunate; and we share the concern which is generally felt.

Speaking as one who for a good many years has carried some degree of responsibility in the organized labour movement, I can tell you that those in such positions, quite as much as anyone else, enjoy an atmosphere of industrial peace far more than one of conflict.

It is regrettable that it is not always possible to maintain such an atmosphere. We live for the most part in a free enterprise economy. The determination of wages and working conditions is subject to negotiation between the parties concerned. This method is part of the whole democratic structure and we, with many others, value it highly.

Under some circumstances this process breaks down. I would emphasize as strongly as I can that the percentage of such breakdowns is extremely small. But they do occur, and then we are confronted with work stoppages or strikes and sometimes – increasingly in recent experiences – lockouts. This is a price which we have to pay for preservation of the democratic process of collective bargaining; and it is a price we are going to have to continue to pay unless and until someone evolves a better method of settling disputes.

There is, of course, a great deal of effort being directed toward the discovery of some better solution. Never in all our history have there been so many enquiries, commissions, committees and probes on a single subject as there have been in recent months, and still are, with regard to the whole area of employer-employee relations.

As always, there are those who would rush in with easy answers. The most popular instant solution suggested is compulsory arbitration – the imposition of a settlement by a third party.

Compulsory arbitration simply will not work. I am well aware that I am repeating what has been said by many in the past; but those who advocate this approach insist on repeating themselves and we can hardly be expected to remain silent.

This opposition to compulsory arbitration is by no means confined to those of us who are active trade unionists.

I would like to quote to you from a recent article in the *Financial Post* – hardly a pro-union publication. This is a digest of a paper given by Dr. H. D. Woods, at the annual meeting of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. You may be aware that Dr. Woods heads the federal government's Task Force which has been spending the past 18 months in a study of industrial relations.

Dr. Woods is quoted in these words:

> "If, under public pressure, governments in Canada introduce compulsion in the settlement of labour-management disputes, it is not merely the industrial relations system that would be radically altered, but the enterprise system itself.
>
> Both management and labour have a stake in the success of collective bargaining as a major feature in the industrial relations system. . . . Even some employer groups have privately urged the Task Force not to recommend taking away the right to strike."

And at a later point, Dr. Woods is further quoted as saying:

> "What is at stake is not merely whether strikes are to be permitted, but whether the whole system of private decision-making for individuals, unions, and employers, is to be preserved and strengthened by policy and administrative reforms, or to be emasculated by creeping public intervention that will involve more decisions by public bodies and less by the parties."

Dr. Woods is by no means alone in this view. The Hon. Bryce Mackasey, Minister of Labour, speaking in the House of Commons a few weeks ago, declared the position of the government, of which he is a member, to be strongly in support of collective bargaining as we know it. He went on to say:

> "If the pursuit of this belief leads to a situation where national strikes occur, causing inconveniences and some-

> times short term hardships, then that is the price Canadians must be prepared to pay for our type of freedom."

Finally, might I quote the Minister of Labour in my own native province of Nova Scotia, the Hon. Dr. Thomas McKeough, who told a recent meeting:

> "I want to say categorically that as long as I am Minister of Labour, there will be no restrictive labour legislation put on the statute books because it is not justified if you take an analytical look at the record. I believe in the free collective bargaining process in Nova Scotia because it works, and nobody can tell me any different."

Unions are already subject to a great many restrictions. Before a union can gain recognition and the right to bargain for its members it is required to follow a detailed and often lengthy procedure to gain certification from a government board. This precedes any actual bargaining.

Then there are further regulations covering the actual bargaining process which may have to follow a tortuous course, finally arriving at the conciliation stage where the union is required to establish its case before a board to justify its proposals for contract provisions.

This is now the law of the land and it is the procedure which unions are required to follow. It is therefore hardly surprising that when there are suggestions of wage guidelines we point out that we are already subject to all these restrictions; while those on the management side of the table are free to adjust price schedules. We say that any effort to apply additional restraints on the efforts of workers to better themselves is highly unfair, in the absence, at the very least, of similar controls being applied to both prices and profits.

But let me turn to another area.

I suggest to you, in all earnestness, that as well as actively seeking methods to improve employee-employer relations, we should more seriously and actively address ourselves to seeking solutions to the conditions which often contribute to conflict.

The whole matter of poverty has suddenly come into the limelight and achieved a high priority position in public discussion. I spoke at the outset of the widespread unrest which prevails in so many quarters today. There are those who are surprised and dismayed by the fact that many Canadians are unhappy and discontented. How can they expect otherwise when one person in every five in our nation lives under conditions of poverty, and many more are not far above the poverty line?

For all too long there has been an effort to sweep poverty under the rug, to pretend it isn't there. It is all too easy these days to climb into a high-powered car and choose a by-pass around a poverty area.

But these areas are there. Poverty does exist, as the Economic Council of Canada has now made abundantly clear. Poverty has been known to the labour movement since its earliest days. In fact the early unions, and a great many since, were formed in an effort by workers to overcome conditions of poverty. I think it is fair to say that the labour movement, over the years, has done considerably more than most other groups to fight poverty.

This does not mean that we are satisfied with our efforts, or that we are today completely fulfilling our responsibilities. Rather, it is our hope that the new attention being given to poverty will both arouse others and strengthen our own efforts.

It is in the area of poverty that our failure to translate into human and social terms the great scientific and technical advances we have made is most apparent. Economic growth and technology have reached a point where there can no longer be any excuse for poverty. We have the capacity to give every man, woman and child all that is required for a decent and a healthy existence. We can produce goods and services in unlimited quantities. We are at times embarrassed by the abundance of what we can produce.

And yet we fail dismally when it comes to making an equitable distribution of our production.

I happen to live in our nation's capital. We were recently told that Ottawa's welfare department expects to overspend its 1968 budget by some $2,000,000 to provide what it describes as "minimum care" for the poor who live in the capital of Canada, the country with the second highest living standard in the world.

Mr. Stuart Godfrey, Ottawa's welfare commissioner, made this comment:

"Malnutrition is a very real danger. Unless we continue to help these people such diseases as tuberculosis, rickets and beriberi soon will begin to take their toll."

And if we turn our attention to another Ontario community, namely Picton, we find a group of workers on strike for month after month in an effort to raise wage rates that were in some instances below the level of unemployment insurance benefit payments. These are workers who produce well known electrical products sold in stores from one end of Canada to the other.

The Ontario government, only a few days ago, announced an increase in minimum wages. In the main the minimum is raised from $1 an hour to $1.30. On the basis of a 40-hour week, 50 weeks a year, this means an annual income of $2,600 – below the poverty level defined by the Economic Council for even small families. I would point out that the Ontario government's action – too little and too late in my estimation – followed an Ontario Labour Department survey which showed that in knitting mills, the clothing industry and the retail trade, anywhere from 20 to 24 per cent of the employees now earn less than $1.25 an hour. In such service operations as laundries and cleaning and pressing shops the percentage rises to 34.8 per cent who earn less than that amount.

Many hundreds of thousands of Canadian families who enjoy employment conditions superior to these are, nevertheless, caught in a tight squeeze by economic circumstances. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the matter of housing.

It is now finally recognized that we are in a crisis situation as far as housing is concerned. A great many Canadian families are confronted with the fact that, under today's conditions, they have absolutely no hope of ever owning a home of their own. This applies to a majority of Canadian families, those with annual incomes below $8,000. Their only hope for adequate housing is a dependence on subsidies.

Our record in this respect is extremely poor. Canada spends far less, proportionately, on public housing than does the United States or Western European countries. In the period 1964 to 1968 loans for public housing constituted only six per cent of the federal government's investment in housing.

I am not suggesting that the blame, by any means, rests solely with the federal government. As of June of this year only 96 municipalities in all Canada had taken advantage of the public housing provisions of the National Housing Act.

We are at a point where we can expect new family formations for the balance of the 1960s to average about 108,000 a year. This is a considerable increase from the 72,000 we experienced in the 1960-66 period. It has been estimated that this trend will bring our housing demand to about 180,000 units annually for the next few years; and we still have a backlog of 250,000 to 300,000 units.

One could speak at great length about our housing crisis but time does not allow this today. I have referred to housing because I feel it illustrates our failure to adequately cope with some of the major social problems that confront us.

Our Canadian trade union movement is a social, as well as an economic organization and it has, to put it mildly, an abundance of experience in meeting strong opposition whenever we exert our efforts toward social advances. This was true years ago when such basic ideas as workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance were advanced. It is true today with regard to both housing and medicare.

Let me point out that social expenditures fall into two categories. One is a cost-sharing plan under which people pool costs and share the expense. This is basically what we seek in medicare. I have always been unable to understand why the pooling of risks and costs under the supervision of a private profit-making agency is regarded as a worthy undertaking and evidence of sound citizenship; while a similar process on a completely co-operative basis, publicly owned and controlled, arouses the most bitter opposition.

The other form of social welfare expenditure is the provision of assistance to meet otherwise unfilled needs. As far as this is concerned our costs could be considerably reduced if we directed more attention toward reducing the need. The prevalence of poverty makes this abundantly clear. It has been estimated in the United States that one poor man can cost the public as much as $140,000 between the ages of 17 and 57, and I suppose the figures for Canada would not be too different.

It seems obvious to me that medicare – in the main – falls into the first category. We have been continually told, particularly by those who are opposed to medicare, that a high percentage of Canadians are now participating in various forms of health insurance plans operated privately. This being the case, the grouping of these people into a plan under public auspices seems to me to be elementary common sense. At the same time such a comprehensive plan can provide medical care to people who most need it, without the stigma of means tests that can undermine the whole principle of the plan and result in some of those who have the greatest need failing to take advantage of it.

It is because of sentiments such as these that we have very strong feelings with regard to medicare. This is something for which we, and many others, have fought for a long time. I am afraid that once again we are witnessing storm signals giving a warning of the danger of still further postponements or a weakening of the plan.

If this happens I, for one, will regard it as one of the greatest sell-outs that has ever been imposed on the Canadian people. It is no secret that the government has been under very heavy pressure from groups which have their own particular financial interest in maintaining the mish-mash of medical protection which now exists.

The latest line of attack, tied in with the recent budget, is to try again to sell the idea that we in Canada cannot afford medicare. Well let me say that if we, in this rich country with one of the highest standards of living in the world, cannot afford to provide the best possible medical service for all our people, as a matter of right, then there is something radically wrong with our values.

The fact is that we can afford it. Let me quote just a paragraph of what the Hon. Mr. Benson had to say about this in his budget address, a comment which unfortunately seemed to be largely lost in the budget reports:

> "We should note that new government expenditures for medical care will be mainly replacing payments by individuals for the same purpose or payments made through existing private or public plans. Only a fraction of the cost will constitute an increasing demand upon the economy, but the result should be a fairer and more efficient system of assuring health care for all Canadians regardless of income."

I am sure you are aware that a meeting between federal and provincial officials is planned in the very near future. It is to be hoped that the federal government will remain firm and fulfill the promise it has made to the Canadian people.

To say that adequate service is already being provided is simply not true. It seems that every few weeks in some part of the country we have the disgusting performance of radio announcers or newspapers pleading for public subscriptions so that some poor child or other individual can receive urgently needed medical or surgical attention that is not normally available.

Why isn't it available?

There has been talk and promises of a comprehensive medical plan in this country since 1919. Country after country – many of them regarded as relatively poor and far less developed than Canada – have provided service for their people. We were told that the Canadian people would have the benefits of such a plan in our Centennial Year of 1967 – a most appropriate, if somewhat belated birthday present. Then the promise was withdrawn with the most devout declarations that 1968 would be the year.

It is true, of course, that this year there has been a start on the programme. But now we find the big propaganda guns booming again in an effort to force a watering down and to undercut the effective implementation of the kind of plan that Canadians can and should have.

I am well aware that I have spoken with some heat on this subject. I make no apology. This seems to me a crystal clear example of our failure to recognize and grapple with fundamental human needs.

Perhaps some of you may regard my remarks to you as being somewhat pessimistic. I suggest that if we fail to grapple with the day's problems on a human basis then our future is indeed pessimistic. On the other hand, if we extend every effort to apply our new knowledge and facilities toward the creation of a better life for all people – and I mean all people, not just Canadians – then the future can indeed be bright, a far brighter one than has ever been known.

This is the fundamental challenge that confronts us. The great advances of civilization are not to be found in the laboratories of scientists, important as they may be; they are to be found in the homes and the hearts of the people.

The time has come for us to reassess our values and to put into meaningful effect the humanitarian principles which we are often so quick to voice but so nervous about acting on.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. Graham M. Gore.

NOVEMBER 7, 1968

From Bonavista to Vancouver Island

AN ADDRESS BY The Lord Taylor of Harlow,
PRESIDENT, MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

At the last stroke of midnight, April 1, 1949, Newfoundland became the 10th Province of Canada. It was an historic and decisive moment for the island people and for all of us. Among the exciting developments which followed were the growth and expansion of what is now a flourishing university. Its President and Vice-Chancellor is our distinguished guest today.

Lord Taylor has had a career without parallel among the heads of our great universities. He graduated with distinction from the University of London, engaged in medical research, practised medicine, was Assistant Editor of that famous journal "The Lancet". He served in the Royal Navy, became Director of Home Intelligence and the wartime Social Survey, an M.P. in 1945 and later Parliamentary Secretary to the Deputy Prime Minister. He was created a Baron in 1958 and returned to the Government as Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies in 1964 and 1965.

Our guest has always taken an active interest in medical education, hospital administration, urban problems, occupational and industrial health – and what might be termed the impact on man of modern technology and the modern way of life. Since 1937 he has published at least 13 books – one of which had the fascinating title "The Suburban Neurosis".

Lord Taylor's name is associated in particular with two very important and far-sighted enterprises. In England – the Harlow New Town Development Corporation. In Canada – the Memorial University of Newfoundland, over which he now presides. From our most easterly coast he brings an original and independent view of this vast country. I have pleasure in introducing Lord Taylor of Harlow.

LORD TAYLOR:

It is a particular honour as a new Canadian, indeed as a "landed immigrant", to be asked to address your famous Club. Yet it is not entirely inappropriate. For I now live and work in the oldest part of the Empire. Tradition has it that the British Empire started either at the King's Beach in the harbour of St. John's or at the little township of Cupids, on Conception Bay, the most north-easterly of the five great bays which dent and produce the Avalon Peninsula. On this peninsula, for four centuries, men and women from South East England and Southern Ireland have lived in tough and surprising isolation from the North American continent. If Vancouver Island, nearly five thousand miles from Cape Bonavista, mirrors strangely the prosperous life of South East England, our Island of Newfoundland mirrors in its way of life that of the ordinary working people of County Cork and County Kerry, Devon and Dorset and Cornwall.

But the time-span is even more remarkable. British Columbia is in and of the twentieth century. Beautiful bustling Vancouver is a northern San Francisco, a great growth centre of industry and commerce, of science and learning. But St. John's is still more like England before the war. Our famous old Water Street is the high street of a country town, where one meets friends in every shop, and there is still time for a gossip, even in the supermarkets.

Yet make no mistake. Newfoundland and St. John's have been moving very fast. Twenty years ago, before Newfoundland became a part of this great nation, St. John's was 60 years behind the times and the island as a whole was still barely into the nineteenth century. In nineteen years, a miracle has taken place. The great Trans-Canada Highway spans the island, new schools and hospitals, new shops and factories have sprung up, and our university enrollment has increased from under 500 to over 5,000. During the lean hard centuries, the people of Newfoundland could do little more than endure. Their native wit, their outport culture, their kindliness, and their capacity to stick it out were all they had. In times of crisis, in each of the two great wars, they rose to supreme levels of courage and sacrifice. Indeed, our University is itself a war memorial to those who died on the battlefields of France and on the High Seas. But something was lacking. Something was needed to release the pent-up energies of these fine people. That missing something, which Britain was unable to give, even to its oldest and most loyal colony, has come from Confederation, from entry into the great union of Canada.

Our older people still think of themselves primarily as Newfoundlanders, in a way not seen in the other provinces, save Quebec. But when I ask the younger generation whether they think of themselves first as Newfoundlanders or Canadians, they consider carefully but always answer the same way – as Canadians. This miracle has been wrought above all in our schools – where Canadian history and geography have replaced British history and geography. Television too has played a major role; and Air Canada, with its fast jet services to Montreal and Ottawa, has made the Cabot Strait of less significance than the English Channel. In terms of time, Upper Canada is now as near as Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

I have long admired the Federal system of government of Canada. It seems to me almost the ideal political system for administering a great land mass, or a great human mass. Within 20 years, it is my belief and hope that Britain will have followed your example. Powerful centralized government is theoretically tidy. But once government starts to concern itself with things other than law and order, with commerce and industry, with education and social welfare, centralization leads to paralysing bureaucracy. The theoretical power of democracy is replaced by the unalterable absolutism of the Civil Service. Better a very human provincial government, than an inviolate but unshakable monolithic power structure. It seems to me that Canada has got the balance right, that she has got the best of both worlds.

Such a system of continental government poses many novel and interesting problems. We are all Keynesians (or post-Keynesians) nowadays. We know that central governments have to walk a delicate fiscal and financial tightrope. At times, when industry is slack and unemployment rising, they must create or stimulate the creation of new money. At other times, when industry is over deployed and manpower short, purchasing power must be checked to avoid inflation and the spiral of prices rising faster than real earnings. As an outsider, it seems to me that Canada has handled these matters as well as any nation and better than most. You have kept your economy turning sufficiently vigorously for hard work to have a real value in terms of money earned. In Britain, we have got ourselves into a situation where the benefits of extra work or extra responsibility are marginal. So, far too many people just opt out of making the extra effort. I beg you to learn from Britain's bitter experience. Do not be *too purist* in the pursuit of anti-inflationary measures. A balanced budget and a static economy can produce organized poverty as Newfoundland learned to its cost in the years before Confederation.

But because Canada is a continent, the problems posed are unique. It is possible to have a near inflationary situation in the great areas of manufacture and production and a real deflationary situation elsewhere. The ideal to be aimed at is a high, but not dangerously high, level of employment and the highest possible level of production in every part of the continent. This must mean that different areas are treated differently – simply because the diagnosis, the economic disease as it were, is quite different. The right treatment, the right policy, for counteracting and correcting regional economic disparity, has still to be found.

By world standards, Newfoundland and Labrador are underdeveloped, or as we say euphemistically, "developing" countries. Thanks to the generosity and wise self-interest of the Canadian nation as a whole, they have started to catch up. The gap is much narrower than it was. But there is still a grave danger that the gap will widen again. Let me explain.

Newfoundland's great industries are primary producers – of iron ore, of other minerals and of paper. These are fine industries for a nation. They are great earners of American dollars. But, because they are capital intensive rather than labour intensive, their contribution to employment and purchasing power of the people of the Province is relatively small. So our level of unemployment is painfully high.

Newfoundland receives generous Federal help. This money creates new fixed capital in the form of schools and hospitals and roads. By putting men who are unemployed to work it creates real additions to the national wealth. But much of what is earned is spent on imports from the mainland. So this part flows back to produce its "multiplier effect" here in Upper Canada. This does no harm as long as you are in no danger of over-inflation. But once you are going all out and more than all out, our needs become your danger.

The long-term answer is to make sure that as much as practical of the "multiplier effect" is made effective in the region which is being assisted federally. This means that Newfoundland, and regions like it, must develop more secondary industry. This is not to compete with Ontario, but simply to avoid the over heating of the Ontario economy, to avoid wasting part of the Federal effort at redressing economic disparity. I would beg of mainland industrial firms to consider most carefully the possibility of locating secondary industry in the less prosperous parts of this nation, to meet by processing or complete production an increasing proportion of local needs. Only thus can true prosperity become nation-wide.

We for our part must make every effort to train our own manpower, in commerce, in engineering and in technology. That is why, at Memorial, we are placing so much emphasis on our new degree programme in engineering. We are following the Waterloo co-operative pattern.

No less important is training in medicine. Newfoundland is the most underdoctored of all the Provinces of Canada. To bring us to something approaching parity, in terms of both quantity and quality, the only answer is create a school of medicine. This we are now doing. And in so doing we intend to exploit our natural advantages. We have a unique arrangement of isolated cottage hospitals. In these we have a unique opportunity to make ourselves a national centre for the training of good general practitioners.

In this great continent, professionalism is the order of the day. By and large this is right, though some say it has gone too far. In Newfoundland, it has only just begun. To break the vicious circle of dependence on the rest of Canada, I am convinced that one of the main points of injection of help ought to be education, particularly post-secondary education.

When Newfoundland and Labrador joined the Confederation, Canada acquired an added dimension, what may be thought of as a short-term liability but a priceless long-term asset. Inevitably, great enterprises take time to bear fruit. The potential of our province, in mineral wealth and hydro-electric power, are only now starting to be realised. But the true wealth of a province or a nation lies in its human resources. And Newfoundlanders are very fine people indeed.

For generations, the most important export of Scotland has been – not whiskey – but trained engineers, business men and doctors, to the lasting benefit of Britain as a whole and many other nations – not least Canada. Newfoundland, too, sends out its people in increasing numbers to work elsewhere in Canada and in the States. Indeed, it is said that there are more Newfoundlanders outside Newfoundland than in the Province itself. Yet our population grows steadily. We like children in Newfoundland – we even like University students. In the past, most who have left have been unskilled. But, for the future, we expect to contribute more than our share of university graduates – engineers, doctors, business men, teachers – to the rest of Canada, while still meeting our own needs. Thus we aim consciously to repay the generosity of the Canadian nation in helping us to pull ourselves into the modern world. If we can contribute to Canada and to society one half of what Scotland has contributed, we shall be out of the red and well into the blue.

We can do two things more. I said a moment ago that Newfoundland gave to Canada an added dimension. The strength of Canada lies in part in its human diversity – in its blending of Gallic and Anglo-Saxon and other ethnic mixes. Newfoundland adds to Canada a particular touch of romance. For it is a Celtic land – a land of music and story, where ghosts still walk and poets still sing. In our newspapers and in our speeches, interest still sometimes triumphs over accuracy. It is part of our mission to make the rest of Canada a little less serious, to make life sparkle just that little bit more. We confidently expect our poets and writers, our musicians and painters to add to the total cultural heritage of Canada far beyond any exact mathematical quota.

Last of all, Newfoundland must exploit its unique geographical position. From Vancouver, even from Regina or Winnipeg, we are more than half way to Europe. We are nearer to Europe, both physically and I think emotionally than any other part of the American continent. In the great Air Canada jets, the Atlantic has shrunk to miniscule proportion. While Britain is seeking new links with continental Europe, it is no less important that Europe and North America remain as closely bonded as ever. For it is in the way of life of these two civilizations that there lies the best hope for the whole world. It is in Europe and North America that practical democracy, science and technology have made virtually all their advances. Others have copied and profited and occasionally improved. But the energy, ingenuity, enterprise and diversity of Euro-American mankind has no parallel in world history.

I see in Newfoundland the opportunity to strengthen these ties. This is one reason why I was happy to accept the invitation to come to preside over Memorial University. It is one reason, perhaps, why I was asked to come. It is one reason why we are establishing a small campus of our own in Britain, in the new industrial town of Harlow, half way between London and Cambridge. Here, our students will gain experience in secondary industry which is denied to them in our island. They will work in the University of London. They will work in our Harlow schools and health centres. And they will come back brimming with new ideas.

As we set out to narrow the gap between Europe and America, and the gap between ourselves and the rest of Canada, we ask you to remember this. Our University intake in the age-group 17-24 is still only *half* of the Canadian average. Our population explosion came late. So to hold our own and advance a little nearer to you, we have to provide between 7,000 and 9,000 extra university places in ten years. That is, we must more than double our size. To Ontario, this may seem little. To us it is almost overwhelming. We have made good plans. We believe we can make a unique contribution to Canadian education. But unaided the task is beyond our power. Great as are the needs of all Canadian universities, they are greatest in Newfoundland, where the means to meet them are least.

We are setting out hopefully on this task, confident that it will be achieved. Exactly how it will be done, I do not know. But of this I *am* certain: whatever the nation of Canada sees fit to invest in the higher education of Newfoundland will be repaid not once nor twice but many times over.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. Bruce J. Legge.

NOVEMBER 14, 1968

Living and Learning in School

AN ADDRESS BY Lloyd A. Dennis,
CO-AUTHOR OF THE "HALL-DENNIS REPORT"

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

"Readin', Writin' and 'Rithmetic,
Taught to the tune of a hickory stick."

This was the simple formula for education in another day and a pioneer society, symbolized by the log schoolhouse from Glengarry which you can see at Upper Canada Village, and later by the little red schoolhouse, now just about gone in Ontario – but not quite forgotten.

In our own time the school system has suddenly been confronted with competition and crisis. Competition from the message purveyed by television and all the other media, printed, taped, canned, delivered anytime and anywhere, including the nursery. Crisis in the global village, its technological revolution, its conflict of ideas and interests, its changing way of life and uncertain scale of values.

We had advance warning about all this from an American philosopher 60 years ago – long before TV or cybernetics or nuclear weapons. John Dewey thought our difficulties are those of a chaotic adolescence and the disproportion between our powers and our wisdom. He said: "Physical science has far out run psychical. We have mastered the physical mechanism sufficiently to turn out possible goods; we have not gained a knowledge of the conditions through which possible values become actual in life and so are still at the mercy of habit, of haphazard and hence of force. . . . With tremendous increase in our control of nature in our ability to utilize nature for human use and satisfaction, we find the actual realization of ends, the enjoyment of values, growing unassured and precarious. At times it seems as though we were caught in a contradiction; the more we multiply means the less certain is the use we are able to make of them."

One of those who has risen boldly to the immense challenge of such competition and crisis is another far-sighted man, Mr. Lloyd A. Dennis. A native of Muskoka, he left the Huntsville High School to serve in the Army and completed his post-war studies at the Universities of Toronto and Chicago. After some years as a public school grade teacher, and then a science teacher, he became a social studies consultant, published several books, was the creator and editor of the Children's page in the Toronto Telegram for six years.

But not only the children – the parents, the teachers, the trustees and the government have also heard from Mr. Dennis. Only last week I was in Belleville. Mr. Dennis was there, speaking to a Regional Conference of School Trustees.

Almost three years ago he resigned as Principal of Deer Park School to serve as Secretary and Research Director of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education, a group of 21 outstanding citizens. A year later he was appointed its Co-chairman with Mr. Justice Emmett Hall of the Supreme Court of Canada. Their report, the Hall-Dennis Report, appeared a few months ago and it has been described as "revolutionary". I don't know: perhaps it is the time in which we live that is truly revolutionary. Or he may tell us. We are going to hear from the co-author of the Hall-Dennis Report – Mr. Lloyd A. Dennis.

MR. DENNIS:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I first wish to express on behalf of the committee, Mr. Justice Hall and myself, our gratitude for the opportunity to present to you the conviction that underlies the document called Living and Learning and at this time I would also like to express the regrets of Mr. Justice Hall who had also been invited to come here today–perhaps by the time I finish you will wish he had.

He sincerely wished to be here but was unable to be and he asked me to convey his regrets to you.

I would like to make this point here–I am not the sole author of these convictions in the Report but I am happy to espouse them. I am this–I am a man who entered this exercise some three years ago with a good deal of self-satisfaction about his role in education. I came out of the exercise, however, I think, considerably humbled regarding my position in education and I hope I found a new dedication in this venture called "Living and Learning" and a new kind of commitment, and I believe that the others who served on the Committee feel this way, too.

And now we hope that you will share this conviction in what we have to say in the Report.

And so what I offer today is not the expression of Dennis, but the expression of this book which begins by saying:

> "The underlying aim of education is to further man's unending search for truth. Once he possesses the means to truth, all else is within his grasp. Wisdom and understanding, sensitivity, compassion, and responsibility, as well as intellectual honesty and personal integrity, will be his guides in adolescence and his companions in maturity.
>
> "This is the message that must find its way into the minds and hearts of all Ontario children. This is the key to open all doors. It is the instrument which will break the shackles of ignorance, of doubt, and of frustration;

> that will take all who respond to its call out of their poverty, their slums, and their despair; that will spur the talented to find heights of achievement and provide every child with the experience of success; that will give mobility to the crippled; that will illuminate the dark world of the blind and bring the deaf into communion with the hearing; that will carry solace to the disordered of mind, imagery to the slow of wit, and peace to the emotionally disturbed; that will make all men brothers, equal in dignity if not in ability; and that will not tolerate disparity of race, colour, or creed.
>
> "This above all is our task: to seek and to find the structure, the organization, the curriculum, and the teachers to make this aim a reality in our schools and in our time."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is the rock on which we split the wood in this Report. We need go no further, perhaps, to look for the conviction than that first statement. But that, of course, forces us face to face with the issue of our Ontario culture and what we are going to say about the enterprise in which we are engaged.

And so to quote again from the Report, we note this:

> "We stand today in the dawn of our second century and assess the field of future education. Surrounded by the greatest array of learning paraphernalia we have ever seen, and immersed in new knowledge, we must not lose sight of the human needs that the new dawn brings. We are at once the heirs of the past and the stewards of the future, and while we take pride in our inheritance, we can ill afford to bury our talents in the soils of satisfaction. We have in our hands means of change for human betterment that few people of the world enjoy. We must find a way to their application that will germinate the seeds of a more fruitful way of life, not only for the people of Ontario but for all Canadians; and

> hopefully the harvest will make its contribution to all mankind."

And now, ladies and gentlemen, you and I sit here today, the elite of the world–and we should recognize that fact. We, the hard-working great Canadian lot, so productive and so utilitarian, so proud of it all, have now perhaps been offered a new kind of opportunity; and knocking quietly on the door of the Empire Club today and on every classroom door in Canada, if you like, is this new opportunity pleading for us to respond. Perhaps by God's design–if that is your inclination–or by an accident of time, if that is, we Canadians have found ourselves in the midst of one of the biggest cupboards of resource that the world has ever seen. Few in number we are, with a new insight we should be able to find by rubbing shoulders one with the other in our difference, in a place in time that enables us to look back upon the ages and see the mistakes, the tragedies and the glories of other nations. We now have an opportunity to find a new way of life for all men.

What a challenge it is. Why, it is hardly likely that we might notice it, so profound is this responsibility handed to the teachers and to you, the body public. We should note that we haven't got the right to abdicate this responsibility.

So that is what is knocking on the doors of our schools and that is what knocked on the door of this Committee when we approached the task.

We quote again from the Report:

> "Today, on every side, however, there is heard a growing demand for a fresh look at education in Ontario. The Committee was told of inflexible programmes, outdated curricula, unrealistic regulations, regimented organization, and mistaken aims of education. We heard from alienated students, frustrated teachers, irate parents, and concerned educators. Many public organizations and private individuals have told us of their

> growing discontent and lack of confidence in a school system which, in their opinion, has become outmoded and is failing those it exists to serve."

Now, we need waste no time, ladies and gentlemen, in condemnation. In fact, I would be the first to say I am proud to be a product of the educational system, hit and miss as it was in God's country called Muskoka. We can be pleased with the fact that we have been able to build a very exciting system of education and we have many things to be proud of.

It is worthy of note, however, that our educational system which we now enjoy was built in another era, and to a degree, it tends to serve that other era, a time now passed; the era of the well-ordered society, so well ordered that we assumed that order and the static position was a good thing to espouse and hang on to.

Naturally, one would expect an educational enterprise to grow out of that static position that itself would reflect the principles of the status quo.

And so, it wasn't hard for me to establish a school and place it over on the right-hand side of the road with the church, and to make it a place of mystery where only a few people could go, and fewer still could teach; and because it bore that aura of mystery, I attached to it solemn purpose, and it became a place of good order and authority and obedience that one would expect in a well-ordered society.

And so my school took on this kind of attitude that its main function was to develop a young man, a young woman, to look like the teacher, to be like the teacher, to dress like the teacher, to act like the teacher in order to reflect and maintain the good order in the good society.

And of course I realized that, in order to maintain authority, I had to operate from a position of central control. So I built an educational system based upon the theory of central command. That was good, for it was comfortable and it kept everybody in a regimented position. Then I tended to regiment my schools for that same purpose and in doing that I found that I had to prescribe what people learned and prescribe also how they would learn it and what they would do with it after they had learned it. That, too, was a comfortable position for me in an establishment that sought to keep everyone in his place. And in order to prescribe something I had to consider education to be packages of content to be absorbed by people who learn.

So my children come into the school essentially empty-headed to be packed with the fact, and to be periodically tested with a dip stick called an exam. When it was pulled out reading "full", the teacher said, "Go man, now you're educated, just like me."

It was demanded that the school serve society. Therefore, I attached a utilitarian purpose to the school and my assumption then grew that children came to school to learn something, a craft perhaps, to get a job. Scratch any child and he will tell you, "I go to school in order to get a job one day." Thus my school became a utilitarian kind of establishment. Then I attached to it all kinds of hardware to support that utilitarian function. With severe organization, efficiency and specialization, I built my machine for the education of the young–and in the process I made my school the utilitarian handmaiden of my culture.

This Committee approached the question philosophically and felt that this was not enough for a school. Because a school is a place where man comes to learn, a school has a greater role to play in our culture. Since it is one of the major change agents of our culture, it must be a headlight, not a reflector.

This is a difficult position to assume for a school. No society establishes an institution like a school in order to destroy itself. Nevertheless, we say that the main purpose of the school is not to pack the content of the past into the people so that they can regurgitate it at periodic intervals. I must be an arena for exploration, where people come to explore the unknown, to puncture the mysterious, to pull out new facts and new convictions that even the teacher may not have. Maybe that is what a school is for. If it is, the school must assume the responsibility of examining its culture in order to make good men better men. To quote from the Report again, "That the school has probably a less profound but more specific task on its hands now. It must constantly deal with the societal conditions that have a direct influence on the welfare of children and young people." The adult community cannot escape the fact that it provides the milieu in which young people live and so must accept the responsibility of influence.

If our community, for example, has a value system that is contradictory one can hardly expect anything more than confusion in young people.

If our community lacks commitment it can hardly hope for more in youth. If it is inclined to disregard the nobility of purpose that is the right of all men to enjoy in favour of indiscriminate gain, it may expect a similar inclination in the adults of the future.

And so we take a look at this from the Committee's viewpoint and we say there is a new role for the school.

Some schools have already found it, some always had it. But we are saying that, as a state exercise, we should accept the fact that the school is a vital change agent in our society and it is about time that we are mature enough to recognize this great service that the school has to play. And if that is true, we might as well talk about what we hope for as a product of the school–and we find that it is hardly utilitarian.

What shall we ask of the mature citizen of our future society? Three qualities perhaps.

We ask that he be a self-disciplined man. We ask that he be a man of responsibility. We ask that he be a man who enjoys a sense of freedom. Of course, those are the tenets of my culture.

Why wouldn't he have the right then to come to me and knock on the door of the school and say, "Provide a learning experience that will do those things for me." But when I take a look at my school I note a striking similarity between it and the last company that I commanded in the army.

It wasn't long ago, ladies and gentlemen, that I marched little children into my school–six years of age, left, right, left, right–to military music. March in, sit down, shut up, stand up, sing the Queen, salute the flag, now sit down and listen.

We don't offer this observation in condemnation of all of our schools. We are suggesting, perhaps, this is not the road to self-discipline. It is the road to the disciplined man, perhaps. One could hardly expect that after an extended experience in an authoritarian position, of law on one side and obedience on the other, anything better than a disciplined man, or a man full of revolt and resentment, or the man who would not be able to take care of himself on his own without a maximum number of rules and regulations and laws by this society.

And so we say one of the jobs of the school and one of the basic attempts of this Report is to find that kind of learning experience that will allow this power to develop in the individual.

At the end, we want a man of two great qualities. We ask for a person who has a critical mind, so that, as he walks through life, he will seek out the evidence wherever he can find it and put it together to form a conviction for himself and stand up and say what it is. And the other thing we hope for him is a compassionate and understanding heart.

Running through the whole sentiment of this Report is the argument that those are the things, those third dimensional things if you like, that are to be found in my school whose job is not just to educate for manpower but manhood. These are the invisible things that I must provide in my school. I must find a way to do it, because those qualities are the foundation of our future, and I might as well admit that that is the major responsibility in my school. If that is true, I must recognize the learning process.

Learning is a highly personal matter. Perhaps God made it like that, I don't know who made it like that, I didn't. I know that I have to bring order out of chaos to masses of people. The public tells me to teach too many children too many things in too short a time. Too busy am I doing too many things but I know that learning itself is an individual experience, and schools must reflect that condition.

More than that, learning is a continuous process. It began when my students were born, it will stop when they die – and no man has the power of God to come in and wrap it up, and package it, and dole it out like chewing gum.

Yet, that is sometimes how I treat students and their learning. I put them on the assembly line and I twist them and mold them until they come out new and shiny products to fit my good culture. The learning process is not like that. Its qualities are, in the end, invisible qualities, and therefore by some method I must provide for learning in an atmosphere that is warm and inviting and exciting and challenging, oft times frustrating, of course, but essentially pleasurable for the people who come to find it.

So I have to build my school to do those things. Obviously then, I would argue for a just society that would provide equality of opportunity to all children in Ontario. Why not? But then, why don't I recognize that my province is very diverse in its environment? Why should I be so sure that I can establish *one* educational system for the whole province? It is now time for me to argue for great diversity in education, greater individuality in the power of learning? Not to pamper students, not to mollycoddle them – just the reverse. I have already done that to youth. Now we are arguing for a new breed of men who are more responsible than I am. The road to it is through individual experience and to the greatest degree that it can be provided.

So in terms of curriculum as we see it in our Report, we are talking about curriculum being a learning experience that is wide in its diversity, highly individual, and that reflects the continuity of the learning process. It reflects also the invisible nature of the learning that goes on. A school organization that plays a different kind of role, with less emphasis upon the content absorption theory and more on the development of concepts, of attitudes, of those kinds of skills that we look for in men of nobility.

In this great diversity of our province we ask for greater local autonomous exercises in curriculum design. We see a changing role for the Department of Education, to one of less authority, perhaps, and more in terms of satisfaction of needs through task force operations. The Department is already moving in this direction, and we hope to help it with our Report.

The teacher is not the low man on society's totem pole. He has the most profound responsibility in my community, since he is the only man who has been given the right by law to take young people and hold them for a long period of time, to do with as he will.

What kind of man or woman would we expect to find in the classroom? Surely one of great excitement, great warmth, great empathy – and severely competent. So competent must he be in the world of education and men's affairs that men beat a path to his door in order just to talk to him, and to be with him, to discuss psychology, philosophy, economics, law, and religion. Why not? These are the affairs of men.

In our description of this kind of approach to learning we would argue for a school system that is more comprehensive in its major and less dedicated to the utilitarian purpose of society.

We therefore argue for the kind of organization for learning which does not severely trap children into narrow paths of endeavour but establishes a kind of arena for learning where he may experience the many facets of learning that are available to him.

We have finally realized that we never did have a magic wand that we could wave over a child's head at the age of 14 and severely stream him off towards law, towards medicine, towards mechanics, towards pressing pants or whatever; and now we are arguing for an educational facility that will allow a student to change his mind and test himself, as I said, against many experiences and not be so caught up with the idea of regimentation, content absorption, and prerequisites for higher levels. We have a preoccupation with segregating people for efficient reasons and now we are known around the world as people who are pretty good at cutting kids out for different kinds of learning experiences according to their apparent aptitude, lack of ability, or lack of sight, or whatever. The school system is too ready to segregate people for special learning situations – sometimes irrevocably. We suggest that any society that calls itself a pluralistic society must be one that tries hard to integrate people in their learning experiences as much as possible. When it is necessary to segregate a student in order to serve him better, I should always have one thing in mind; and that is to bring him back into normalcy if I possibly can, as soon as I can. In order to do this, we talk about continuous learning experience to be found in a programme that ranges from kindergarten and 12 additional years of schooling, to be found in comprehensive schools. We argue that with our new insights in learning, our new clusters of arrangements for learning, our new powers and human resources, we should be able to send a child out into the world or into the tertiary level for further learning experience at the end of the twelfth year of schooling after nursery and kindergarten.

Of course, we also suggest that there is nothing mysterious about this place called school and so perhaps it is time to say that if we are really dedicated to the service of young people and their needs in education that it may be possible to serve them more individually. There are many young people, for example, who perhaps would be better off in the world of work than in the world of school, perhaps sharing responsibilities and experiences with the work world and the school world simultaneously. We plead for that kind of flexibility in the arrangement of the curriculum and in the arrangement of the legislation regarding the attendance of school.

There are many recommendations in this Report that suggest ways and means of improving education and in the drawing of these designs we examined what we now have. As I said, we have found many excellent things going on in Ontario. And, of course, we found some things that we would criticize. That was our task.

We might note that when we have a large research institution like the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, one must be very careful that its staff does not withdraw itself and become an isolated kind of group only doing things for themselves, losing touch with the very people the Institute was designed to serve, the people out in the field of education.

We should watch that kind of operation when we build quickly and precipitously to satisfy immediate needs. We know, for example, that we have educational television for use in the schools. Why not? It is obvious. But again, it is a temptation for me to jump onto the bandwagon of educational T.V. facilties and then think I have the problem solved –even though, when I go around the province I find that a disturbing number of T.V. sets are safely hidden in the closet unopened yet because they interfere with the lesson.

And so we suggest that perhaps it is time to, if we are really in the business of dedicating ourselves to the education of young people in terms of their individual needs, that the big problem still staring us right in the face is the need for counselling in my schools. Students have every right to receive competent counselling and guidance in their schools yet we note that we are very superficial in this regard and we plead for quick action in this area.

Naturally, we say that in this time, the parent and the public generally should come back to the field of education where you always belonged. A long time ago I put you out of the school when I made it that place of mystery, and you first became concerned. Then you became intimidated by me. Now when you come to visit the school you revert to 12 years of age because that is the way you remember it, this solemn place. And in the process, of course, you have to a degree become apathetic about what goes on in education. We argue in this Report that this thing called education for your young people is too vital for you to abdicate.

I am not in the business of education for myself and neither are you as a parent. Thus we plead for a new kind of approach to education in terms of a partnership shared by the public and the profession. In that regard, one of our more specific recommendations deals with the appointment of an advisory council, an autonomous, non-political body of people representative of society, and reporting directly to the legislature on a regular basis, concerning the affairs of education in the Province.

That, of course, led us to the other recommendation that I would like to note for you. The appointment of an ombudsman in education – not because it's a European bandwagon that we would like to jump on, but because we think that in this morass of education it is very difficult for individuals to keep their individuality and to have their problems solved as quickly as they should be solved. We feel that this kind of approach might help.

All of this we say about education is not relevant at all unless we do something about the power of human resources that we place in our schools.

We can no longer afford to maintain a superficial attitude in this regard.

Now we don't condemn our province in this regard. We haven't even had time to catch our breath in Ontario since World War II. We can't even build schools quickly enough, let alone staff them. But if the aims embodied in this Report are what we want, the only way we are going to achieve them is through powerful human resources in our schools. And we won't achieve this just by providing more teachers with more degrees, but by providing a different kind of educational depth and diversity for those teachers. We need the support of the public to recognize if this is a prerequisite to success in this area.

Ladies and gentlemen, if this Report could speak for itself, it would say:

Mr. Public, you have the prerogative of condemning me, if you like. That is your right. You also have the right to commend me, if you like. But you don't have the right to ignore me. I am, after all, the most current public statement on education now before you. As such, I deserve your attention.

Thus the Committee offers *Living and Learning*, a document that hasn't got all the answers but certainly poses a lot of questions, offered not as a prescription, but as a grand design. We hope that you will find something about it worthy of your interest and your action.

I would like to close, as I began, with a quote from the Report:

> "We now relinquish our task, conscious that the broad design for education which we have recommended may be found to be inadequate by some and unsatisfactory by others. We trust that this Report will be studied as a whole, and viewed as such, and not as a collection of unrelated topics. Our dominant aim throughout has been to see and to delineate education as a complete and integrated endeavour for the children of Ontario – the children who very soon will have committed to them the responsibilities of adulthood and the destiny of a province in a united Canada, her citizens in harmony from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and at peace with all peoples. In this setting of unity, harmony, and peace, the educational endeavour will flourish and truth will make all men free."

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Dr. H. V. Cranfield.

NOVEMBER 21, 1968

Canadian-American Relations—A Mild Breath of Heresy

AN ADDRESS BY C. Peter McColough,
PRESIDENT, XEROX CORPORATION

CHAIRMAN H. Ian Macdonald,
1st Vice-President

MR. MACDONALD:

How often have Canadian institutions been described as a pale imitation of their American counterparts–a mere carbon-copy, as it were. Can there be any doubt that such an historical characteristic, even were it true, must surely be in the process of reversing itself now that a Canadian is president of a major American duplicating corporation? In fact, there would appear to be more to XEROX than duplicating. I read recently, in the financial press, that XEROX shareholders were multiplying at a great rate–an entirely appropriate phenomenon for that major growth industry, notwithstanding the double meaning.

Our speaker, C. Peter McColough is the President and Chief Executive Officer of XEROX Corporation–a corporation which has added a new dimension not only to business life but to business practice in America.

He is a native of Halifax and the son of a former Deputy Minister of Public Works. As a civil servant, you will allow me to say that his talent for duplication was obviously inherited. During World War II, he served as an airman in

England with the Royal Navy – a fitting situation for one born by the sea but destined for high places. He returned to Canada in pursuit of further study at Osgoode Hall Law School and Dalhousie University Law School where he was awarded an LL.B. degree in 1947 and admitted to the Canadian bar. A clear fascination with business and industry drew him to the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration where he graduated in 1949 with an M.B.A.

Prior to joining XEROX in 1954, Mr. McColough worked for a corporation which must have been reminiscent of Nova Scotia and its economy, in terms of coal and water, when he was Vice-President in charge of sales for the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company in Philadelphia. He became President of XEROX in 1966 and was named Chief Executive Officer in 1968.

Not surprisingly, his public responsibilities are numerous: a Trustee of the Rochester Institute of Technology, St. John Fisher College, Manhattanville College, the University of Rochester and a Director of the Community Chest of Rochester and the Memorial Art Gallery, while his private responsibilities are multiple, as the father of five children. In March of 1966, Mr. McColough received a Presidential appointment to serve as a member of the United Service Organizations for a three-year term.

Apparently, we have no monopoly in our concern with our American relationship: a Mexican recently remarked to me that Canadians and Mexicans had one common problem between them! But, we rarely hear the story of our relationship from a Canadian resident of the United States. Some may lament talented Canadians who leave our country, but members of this Club surely believe in the empire of ideas and the contribution which Mr. McColough is making to the business community of the world. We welcome back a Canadian, a maritimer who is such an accomplished sailor in the powerful seas of American business.

MR. MCCOLOUGH:

Thank you.

Some years ago, when I first began to address audiences, I was told never to begin by saying, "It's good to be here." Such declarations, apparently were too common and therefore a little synthetic.

Today, I feel so much at home I hope you'll forgive me if I treat this occasion as the exception that proves the rule. It *is* good to be here.

First of all, this is one of the few times that I could look forward to an introduction in which the name Dalhousie Law School would be pronounced correctly. On one occasion a few years ago, I was delivering a speech before an influential group of American Security analysts and was introduced as a graduate of Dahousie Lie School. Of course, the master of ceremonies was deeply apologetic . . . and when the laughter stopped, he corrected himself instantly. He re-identified the great institution as Da-*Lousy* Law School.

By that time, my distinguished audience was almost in tears and I began to feel that no matter what happened next, there was bound to be a credibility gap in whatever I might say.

But I need not tell you, I hope, that my pleasure in being here goes far beyond the assurance of proper pronunciation.

In a very real sense, this occasion also gives me the opportunity to focus more intimately than usual on my own personal posture, both as a man of Canadian origin and heritage . . . and as a businessman working in the United States for a large American corporation.

When I left home more than twenty years ago to attend the Harvard Business School, I left as a Canadian who fully expected to return to Canada. Except for one brief period, I never did return. And I have never been able to decide whether I was a dropout, a renegade . . . or what. At one point I toyed with the idea that I might be an example of what some Canadians call "the national brain drain". But one of my ardently nationalistic Canadian friends effectively killed the notion when he said, "Peter, your decision to stay in the United States was one of those happy circumstances that simultaneously raised the intellectual level of both countries."

Whatever my label, I must confess that after so many years in the United States, after marrying and having five children, my point of view can no longer be called that of a Canadian. It is that of an American whose concern for Canada's well being is a lasting one. And it is that personal cross-current of concern for both nations–each with its special problems–that has brought me to the subject I would like to discuss with you today: the recurring uneasiness of Canadian-American economic relations.

From what I've read in the Canadian press and the reports from Parliament in the past few years, the controversy in this country as to the significance of U.S. capital involvement in Canada recurs with the regularity of a bad television commercial. The phenomenon is variously described as investment, imperialism, economic collaboration, threat, opportunity, and a host of other conflicting definitions.

Included in the negative indictment are complaints that U.S. companies in Canada have too few Canadian executives; that they foster too little research and development here; that they buy too many components from the United States; and that they make little effort to increase Canadian exports.

The logical implication of these charges is that U.S.-owned companies tend to work against Canada's interests rather than *for* them . . . *exploiting* rather than contributing to Canada's resources.

This represents, in its most skeletal form, a harsh and deeply serious accusation.

Those who try to *defend* the influx of U.S. investments believe that it will generate greater executive capabilities for Canada, that the volume of new capital will produce the kind of research and development best suited to Canada's needs, and the deliberate specialization will serve Canada far better than full-line production.

As a man whose background permits a reasonable understanding of both points of view, I can only hope that the outcome of this waxing and waning argument will be equally constructive for both countries. But at a time when Canada's mood seems so optimistic and positive, it occurs to me that such differences also can polarize quickly – particularly in the public mind – and contribute to a hardening of positions not only as between Canadian and Canadian but between our two countries as well.

Of course, apprehension about American influence is certainly not a new phenomenon here . . . or one without a degree of historical precedent. After all, it was only about a hundred years ago that the United States gave up all hope of annexing the Dominion . . . and Canada in turn stopped building fortifications along the border.

And I think it was around 1910 that a major Canadian political party ran on the slogan, "No Truck or Trade with the U.S."

It's readily understandable, in my view, for any nation which shares borders with a far more powerful neighbor to worry about its sovereignty and to look with suspicion on any action that could bear, directly or indirectly, on its independence.

I must also grant that Americans themselves have not always been as sensitive to the position of Canada as they might be. To be called "our cousins to the North" is not exactly a Canadian's idea of national identity. The fact is, of course, that Canada does not share, as many Americans tend to believe, a common culture and heritage with the United States.

Yet whatever insensitivity and misconceptions Americans may be guilty of, it is my personal conviction that they do not arise from malice or bad faith. Americans simply know too little about Canada. As Henry Ford has said, the characteristic American attitude toward this country is well-intentioned, but not very well informed. Furthermore, their misconceptions seem to me almost peripheral to larger considerations.

I guess my position, basically, is that any realistic discussion of Canadian-American affairs must assume that the relationship between two nations of unequal strength who share so much, and who have so much to gain from each other, will never be one of total ease. Despite an interdependence greater than between any other nations of the world there are bound to be issues between the United States and Canada that simply can't be resolved to the complete satisfaction of both.

But I think reasonable people in both countries understand and accept the inevitability of occasional disagreements with each other's policies . . . and recognize that many of them dissolve with time and changing circumstance, plus the customary quota of reason and good will.

What concerns me far more are the specious concepts which inhibit our relations . . . concepts that exploit fear and fan it into a kind of subtle almost paranoid loss of perspective. They represent to me the real impediments to more mature and much more fruitful cooperation between us. *And in my view, quite frankly, the specious elements which cloud rather than clarify Canadian-American relations can be found more readily today in Canada than in the United States.*

American investment in Canada, as you know, is enormous and far in excess of our investment in any other country of the world. Total U.S. investment here is now about $25 billion. Some estimates claim more than half of Canadian business is controlled by American capital.

But, in fact, actual American control of all Canadian industries, including merchandising, amounts to about 27%, an increase of 7% in the last twenty-eight years. In all, Canadians own and control about two-thirds of the country's total enterprises.

Of course, the fact remains that a number of key manufacturing and resource industries – oil and gas, rubber, automobiles, mining, electrical apparatus – are controlled by American investors and corporations.

I've heard it argued frequently that Canada is weakened and compromised by foreign domination of so many primary industries. Naturally, if that domination were used as an instrument of American foreign policy, I would agree.

It's true, of course, that American policies do occasionally affect American-owned subsidiaries, as they did in the 1965 guideline dispute. But when that happens, the impact is usually brief, and that action, after all, was designed to protect a currency far more important to the world than any other. Canadians, as well as people of other nations, don't always recognize that – despite its problems – the Yankee dollar carries with it responsibilities that transcend the immediate interests of any single nation. And by that I mean the United States as well.

The point is that situations like the guidelines dispute occur with such amazing infrequency. Perhaps "amazing" is not the word. Twenty years in the United States have taught me that Americans are acutely sensitive about the wealth that they have been able to create. Granted, they are not out to lose money. Yet there is – in the search for profit – a sense of responsible mission and restraint that characterizes the overall conduct of their present international business ventures. And as we have all seen in the soul-searching crises that the United States has experienced over the last several years, Americans have never before been so anxious to do the 'right thing".

I am not, believe me, pleading here for your greater understanding of an American dilemma . . . desirable as that might be. I am simply saying that Canadians who interpret as dangerous the percentile ownership of Canadian enterprise by American investors would do well to ponder first the real nature of the American investment.

American investment here is private, not governmental. By definition, this guarantees that there can be no guiding or over-riding force which is pursuing some Machiavellian goal. What is pursued – by over 1,500 highly competitive American-owned and thousands more Canadian enterprises – is the development of this economy through profit.

So far as I'm concerned, the mass of evidence clearly suggests that the motives of American investment in Canada are purely economic, by which I mean the creation of wealth; and that domination is by no means synonymous with intervention or political control.

To translate the simple fact of American economic power in Canada into a half-formed fear of political subjugation, and to support it with itemized but unrelated accusations against American business behavior in Canada is really to beg the question and to create a mythology that violates logic for the sake of emotion.

A case in point lies in the widely publicized charges against American-operated business that I mentioned earlier. An investigation conducted over a period of years at the University of Saskatchewan suggests that, to date, none of the charges have any foundation in fact. On the issue of not pushing Canadian exports, for example, a total of ten industries were examined in which both Canadian and American companies operated.

The export efforts of the two groups were barely a hairsbreadth apart. The median percentage of output exported by the Canadian companies was higher in five, lower in four and exactly equal in the other.

But apart from that kind of simple misconception, there are also half-truths about American policy which fog the issue even more.

As you're aware, 70% of Canada's imports come from the United States and contribute to a trade deficit every year with the U.S. of about $1 billion. This is a situation with which the Canadian government is obviously and understandably unhappy; and one which it seeks to correct. Yet that deficit – which in itself seems to create resentment in many quarters – is not the whole story.

For one thing, it is nearly balanced by large exports to other countries . . . one billion dollars of which is generated by American-controlled companies. That represents about one-quarter of all Canadian exports to countries other than the United States.

What's even more important, however, is that Canada has a large surplus in its capital account: almost one billion new foreign dollars are invested here every year, and roughly three-quarters comes from the United States.

The long-term result of that investment can only further the development of Canadian manufacturing, and thus create an even stronger export position both to the United States and the rest of the world.

For these reasons, among others, I think it would border on folly for Canada even to contemplate unilateral action to balance its American trade account.

Fortunately there are a number of Canadians who share this belief and realize that such action would seriously undermine the two immeasurable assets that have historically made Canada so irresistible to foreign capital: economic stability and freedom of operation.

These two factors are, in my opinion, the nation's most valuable media of exchange in dealing with foreign capital. They are what led 1,500 major subsidiaries of American companies to Canada. They are the factors that encouraged foreign money to infuse the Canadian economy with a vigor which it would have taken decades longer to generate on its own. Moreover, the capital has brought with it a great deal of managerial skill, modern manufacturing methods and sophisticated technology . . . all of which have taken root and may ultimately be of greater value to Canada than the capital itself.

Yet too few Canadians seem to understand or take pride in the climate that has made Canada such an attractive place for capital investment. At the same time, too many fail to recognize that lacking the American venture capital they now bemoan Canada would probably not enjoy the second highest standard of living in the world. Without it would she not be weaker and possibly far more vulnerable to the very kind of domination with which she has been so preoccupied in public debate?

There is a real paradox in this situation . . . and it's one that often disconcerts Americans who look at Canada. What they see is a country of extraordinary vital statistics.

Only one other nation – the Soviet Union – has greater land mass than Canada. She is the fifth largest trading nation in the world. Only one other nation uses more energy per capita. Radio reaches 98% of Canadian homes – and television 94%.

With only one-half of one per cent of the earth's population, her gross national product has risen more than 80% in the last ten years. And her economy is still accelerating, blessed with what appears to be inexhaustible natural resources.

This nation has overcome enormous obstacles of climate, geography, ethnicity and underpopulation to become one of the wealthiest, stablest and most respected nations on earth. How can one possibly describe the magnitude of that achievement?

You yourselves came as close as humanly possible to explaining Canada's achievements during your Centennial celebration, with Expo '67 drawing millions of visitors from all over the world and far outshining the Fair which we Americans had produced in New York several years earlier.

Yet although Canada has achieved – against great odds – a glowing prosperity at home and an influential position abroad, her posture toward the United States often continues to exhibit the kind of hypersensitivity that so often signals a shortage of self-confidence and self-esteem.

Certainly it would be gratifying if more Americans knew more about Canada as a unique culture. And I think they should. But self-esteem in a nation, just as in a man, is a function of internal values . . . not of the understanding or praise of others.

So if I'm correct in my assessment both of Canada's powerful stature, and at the same time her bewildering lack of confidence – then the obvious question is "Why does heavy American participation in Canada's economy continue to generate such resentment?"

I can't believe that the sheer weight of that participation . . . or the far greater power of the United States . . . or the scant knowledge of Canada that many Americans have . . . or even disputes like the 1965 American guidelines policy and the recent banking argument in Ottawa add up to adequate answers. Each is, of course, a contributor. But each is also external.

In essence, I'd like to suggest an internal source of that resentment . . . and one which you may like as little as I like advancing it.

The problem faced by Canada is quite simply that she does not have enough capital to provide her people with the standard of living they demand . . . and, therefore, she must – unless she chooses to wear a "hair shirt" seek foreign capital. Anyone of good sense must recognize that such investment is an economic necessity and probably a political one.

But in the process of generating foreign capital, I'd like to suggest to you that, in some respects, Americans over the past forty years have had more faith and confidence in the business future of Canada than many Canadians themselves . . . and that this could be a sensed but unspoken factor in antagonism toward the United States.

During the Depression years of the 1930s, a number of Canadian banks took pride in the fact that they were surviving while their American counterparts were failing in great numbers. But the American banks, some of which did fail through bad management, also failed because of their confidence in the economy and their faith in its viability. They failed, in other words, for the right reasons . . . while Canadian banks, whose extreme caution insulated them from the plunge of their own economy survived for the wrong reasons.

To this day, Canadian businessmen complain that the conservatism of their banks forces them to go abroad for money, largely to the United States where receptivity to venture, to innovation and to the future seem greater. If that's true even in part, then the degree of foreign investment in Canada is obviously a situation that Canadian conservatism, not American aggressiveness, has created. And to inhibit that investment would seem to inhibit the health and growth of Canada itself.

Another major lending force, the insurance companies, actually corroborates this thesis. As you know, life insurance companies in the United States are a major source of corporate financing . . . and their proportionate stock holdings are nearly 65% greater than those of the Canadian life insurance industry. Only now are some positive steps being taken to liberalize your institutional investment policy.

So while the common argument is true that Canada's underpopulation makes both capital accumulation and an expanded industrial base exceptionally difficult, Canadians have not always tried to make it less true.

It's possible to say, of course, that financial conservatism is just a part of the Canadian temperament and history. But that's a little too glib. I think it's worth asking whether this inbred conservatism guides Canadian action in other economies.

I found one answer within my own company, Xerox Corporation. Historically Xerox has been at heart a venture company possessing all the risks and pains of growth. Yet today the value of Xerox shares held by Canadians is well in excess of $60 million.

Although I can't confirm my feeling, I doubt whether there is a venture company in all of Canada whose shares are valued to that extent by Canadians. And I am convinced that Xerox is not the exception that proves the rule.

The overall picture, which to me is persuasive, is that per-capita Canadian investment in American industry is greater than the per-capita American investment in Canada. Given that fact alone, Canadians must at least grant that control of a portion of their industry has been relinquished to the United States by default. They must grant too that there is a potential for venture among their own people which their more cautious policies do not satisfy.

These are factors which make American investors skeptical when they are criticized for doing what Canadians could do more of themselves. Canadians – in my opinion – owe it to themselves to keep such factors in perspective.

Please don't misunderstand me. I'm not suggesting that Canada should pay its debt to the United States with fealty to American policies . . . or that Canadians should be more tolerant of American mistakes. Canada now pays to foreign investors, mostly American, a return on their investment of nearly $1¼ billion a year, which amounts – I should add – to only about 2% of your gross national product. It has met and continues to meet its economic obligations.

Nor would it make much sense to encourage greater Canadian control of Canada's enterprises by punishing or artificially retarding American ownership. Canada needs and will continue to need American funds for a long time to come.

My argument is simply that in establishing and maintaining a relationship of equality and mutual respect between nations of unequal strength, the less powerful country should not on the one hand solicit help from abroad – help that some of its own institutions have been unwilling or unable to grant – and on the other hand accept that help with resentment . . . or malign it as unjustified domination.

Agreed there is a great deal Americans can do to improve and nourish their relationships with Canada. I continually suggest to my American friends that they must think with great intimacy and depth about Canada's unique role in our hemisphere and our world.

To my Canadian friends I make the same plea. As Robert Stanfield suggested in a speech last year, I believe Canadians owe more to themselves than distrust, resentment, suspicion and antagonism in their relations with the United States. Instead they owe themselves a pride of great accomplishment, achieved by their own hard work and by offering freedom and stability to those who have had the faith and incentive to invest in this nation's future.

If the events of the past year are any token of the future, I believe the road ahead should be easier for us both to travel.

The election of your Prime Minister Trudeau, for one thing, is widely regarded in the United States as a sign of fresh Canadian vigor – of a greater willingness to change – of a more confident readiness to experiment. These are really the core elements of national pride. And in the realization of that pride – from Halifax to Vancouver – in the confidence and assurance that arise from it, lies the best and surest guarantee of Canada's sovereignty . . . and the only route toward greater rapport and more successful fraternal existence with the United States.

I hope and pray Canada will travel it.

Once again, my deep and very sincere thanks for the opportunity to return here . . . and for your patience in listening to a point of view which, I assure you, is born of concern for a country whose stature is far too great for anyone – American or Canadian – ever again to doubt.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. R. H. Hilborn.

NOVEMBER 28, 1968

The Price of Peace

AN ADDRESS BY Hon. George Drew,
P.C., C.C., C.D., Q.C., LL.D.
PAST PRESIDENT OF
THE EMPIRE CLUB OF CANADA

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

In its history of three score years and five, since November 18, 1903, The Empire Club of Canada has had 65 Presidents. Time has taken its toll; the majority are no longer with us, but they are not forgotten.

Apart from those I have already introduced, we heartily welcome to our meeting today a number of those who have given great service in the past, and I would ask them each to rise and take a bow.

Our honoured guest today, the Senior Past President of the Club, is a most distinguished Canadian. His name has been a household word since the early 20s when he began to publish fascinating accounts of the fabulous exploits of Canadian fliers in the First World War. He had served as an artillery officer in that war and was wounded in France.

It would take a long time to recite the services he subsequently performed and the offices he held. I shall mention only a few.

He was Mayor of Guelph, Chairman of the Ontario Securities Commission, Master of the Supreme Court of Ontario, member of the Ontario Legislature, Leader of the Opposition at Queen's Park, 1939 to 1943, Prime Minister of Ontario from 1943 to 1948, National Leader of the Progressive Conservative Party from 1948 to 1956.

In 1957 he was appointed Canadian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, where he served this country with great distinction. When a new Government took office in 1963 he was asked to continue representing Canada in London and he did so for some time.

As we all know, Col. Drew's career has been marked by many other achievements, as a vigorous writer and speaker, as a soldier with a great interest in military affairs, as a Governor of the University of Toronto, Chancellor of the University of Guelph, as a world traveller and business man.

He has spoken to this Club on 15 occasions since 1933, and he was our President in 1932-33. Gentlemen, you will now hear from our Senior Past President, Col. the Hon. George A. Drew.

MR. DREW:

We meet today during one of the most critical periods of the world's history. Let no one who cherishes his own freedom ignore the dreadful truth before our eyes.

Within the past two weeks an equally arrogant dictator has adopted Hitler's methods. With all the military power of the Russian Empire behind him, Brezhnev has made the dramatic but very simple declaration that every Communist state must adhere and submit to the policies and doctrines of the Kremlin or be subjected to the same military discipline as Czechoslovakia experienced last August.

Never before at any time has the head of any state – not even Hitler – declared without reservation that all nations associated with his must submit to whatever course of action may be dictated by the master state.

What with the strident verbal conflict about Vietnam, student riots, and the Grey Cup Game next Saturday, this threat, with its world-wide implications, seems to have attracted comparatively little attention. And yet the whole future of the free world is at stake. Even the madman of Berchtesgaden never openly proclaimed such an abject form of national slavery.

Never at any time since 1945 has the need for collective action by the free nations, by every means within their power, to avert another world war been so apparent. The whole of mankind desires peace, particularly with the dreadful possibilities of nuclear war.

When Russia invaded Czechoslovakia on August 21st last, the events of the days that followed bore a sickening similarity to the German invasion of Czechoslovakia thirty years ago, and of Belgium in 1914. Germany tore up every solemn covenant they had signed when they invaded the country which, of all the parts of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, was giving the finest example of real democracy. Hitler explained that this was not an invasion but that they were restoring the people of Czechoslovakia to the land of which they had been a part for a thousand years. They had, of course, never been a part of Germany. The Czechs and the Slovaks who were working together in peace and harmony with such remarkable success both had traditions of freedom, culture and self-government which went back for centuries before Germany was anything but a group of warring tribes. But that bare-faced lie was nothing compared with the explanation given by Brezhnev when Russia and four of her slave states invaded Czechoslovakia with hundreds of thousands of heavily-armed troops last August. He told the people of that country, with its great traditions of freedom, that the invaders had come to protect them from imperialist designs.

As a liar Hitler was an amateur compared with Brezhnev. Perhaps that should only be expected by a head of a state which has adopted lying as a well-established feature of its official foreign policy. As an example, only yesterday Jacob Malik, the Russian representative at the United Nations, shouted angrily at the United States representative, Stuart Symington, "We rescued the American people from enslavement by the Nazis. We paid a high price for this – the flower of our youth." What outrageous nonsense. Hitler felt free to start the last war only when he and Stalin had signed a mutual non-aggression pact on August 26th, 1939, under which Russia and Germany declared their everlasting mutual friendship and pledged a policy of non-aggression between their countries.

When Germany attacked Russia without warning on June 22nd, 1941 – and it is certain the Russians would never have been in the war at all if this had not happened – it was the British and Canadians who saved Russia by the bombing of key production centres and the supply of essential equipment of all kinds by ships which ran the gauntlet of German submarines in the Atlantic and the narrow waters of the Baltic.

A major part of the vitally important equipment sent to Russia through the Baltic and the Mediterranean was produced in the United States and shipped from Canada. Without this equipment and the British and Canadian bombing of the synthetic oil plants in Germany, which supplied the fuel for the German tanks and aircraft, Germany would have broken through to the Baku oilfields, and the war would have been over for Russia. That military equipment was carried by Canadian and British ships from our eastern ports, with the loss of many gallant young Canadians in the ships that were sunk in carrying out this task. I also well remember seeing Russian pilots at Prestwick in large numbers, waiting to pick up aircraft made in the United States which were flown across the Atlantic by Canadians and then turned over to the Russians at that point.

When Malik tells the United Nations, and through the press the whole world, that they saved the American people from enslavement, many of our young people naturally do not know that this is an unqualified lie, and that Stalingrad could not have been defended, the Baku oilfields saved, and Russia kept in the war, if it had not been for Britain, Canada, and the United States.

Russia did pay a high price. They paid the price of their own treachery when they signed the friendship pact with Germany in August 1939, at a time when they were discussing military arrangements with Britain and with France.

This bare-faced lie of Malik's before the United Nations also reminds us that young Canadians should be told of the supremely gallant service of young Canadians during the last war, in the air and at sea, who paid a very high price, in so many cases the highest price of all, to save Russia from defeat.

We were told that the Russians had been joined in the worthy cause of invading Czechoslovakia by the hard-line supporters of true Communism. Let us just recall for a moment who these so-called supporters were. The largest was Poland. In that country it is hard to find any Pole who does not hate the Russians. They have not forgotten the Katyn murders, nor have they forgotten the almost unparalleled betrayal of the people of Warsaw by the Russian Army. Poland would separate from Russia tomorrow if it were not for the vastly superior armed might of Russian imperial power.

Then let us look at East Germany. Their people love Communism and Russia so much that a thousand refugees a day were crossing from East to West Germany until the Berlin Wall was built a few years ago, not to keep West Germans out of East Germany but to prevent the East Germans escaping from the scourge of Communism. Certainly one of the most imaginative examples of the kind of lying which is an established part of Russian foreign policy was the charge that West Germany was showing signs of militarism which Russia could not ignore.

The truth is that if you want to see real militarism in Europe today, the place to go is East Berlin. Last summer I saw the changing of the guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on the Unter den Linden. It brought back chilling memories of troops of the Wehrmacht that I had seen at the very same place in the years before the last war.

Helmeted troops in dull green uniforms did the famous goose-step with all the exaggerated movements of the men who served under Hitler. As their feet slammed down on the stone pavement, old memories of German militarism reminded me vividly of the days when the offices of Hitler, Goering, Ribbentrop, Goebbels and all that crew of murderers were only a few hundred yards away. Now you see the same militarism encouraged by the occupying Russian forces with the approval of the new Hitler in the Kremlin.

I do wish to emphasize that this was in East Berlin, not in the West. I would also emphasize that at least 90% of all the Germans in East Germany are anti-Communist, but must obey the orders which are enforced by some twenty divisions of Russian troops.

Another of the states we are told supported Russia in the invasion of Czechoslovakia is Hungary. Need I say more? There is no moderately informed person in the whole world who is not aware of the deep and abiding hatred of the Hungarians for the Russians who shot them down in cold blood when they also sought to assert some measure of freedom twelve years ago.

Now we are informed that Russia does not propose to allow any of the associated Communist states to depart from their understanding of true Communism. These are the people who talk about imperialism. The only real imperialists today, in the sense in which they use that word, are the Russians themselves who are setting up a form of imperialism not known elsewhere for centuries. They have the sublime effrontery to claim that they and their puppet states invaded Czechoslovakia to protect them from imperialist interference. Now in this past week, Russia is politely asked to give their explanation to the United Nations of their legal right to enter Czechoslovakia. If the whole situation were not so deadly serious, this would be the best joke of the year. It is comparable to a request to Al Capone to give a legal justification for the Valentine Day murders in Chicago.

It was cold, murderous suppression of the modest measure of freedom which Czechoslovakia had established under Dubcek. But after all we must remember that it is freedom which the Russians fear most of all. They fear freedom for a reason which we should never for a moment forget. There has been a tremendous change in Russia in the past ten years. The Russian people are increasingly friendly toward the West. Their contacts with the West have been extended greatly, and their friendship shows itself in many ways. You find them most anxious to talk about life in the democracies. There are few gifts which they cherish more than books printed in the West which may be given to them by visitors.

I saw one very striking example of how their attitude toward the West has changed. I was in Moscow when President Kennedy made his famous speech demanding the Russian withdrawal of the rocket bases from Cuba. His words were heard clearly over the radio. And yet there was no sign of animosity toward those like myself who certainly would not be taken for Russians. Any sign of crisis was in London, not in Moscow. That morning when I visited the Kremlin, I found no sign of anything but friendliness and courtesy.

I mention this because the attitude of the Russian people themselves is of immense importance. I believe that they will in time be our strongest allies, along with the people of Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany and of all the other slave states.

The recent meeting of Communist Parties in Budapest was one of the strangest episodes in the history of that party. Only three months ago Communists all over the world expressed their outrage and dismay when the Soviet imperialists invaded Czechoslovakia. Representatives of Communist states which attended that meeting knew that the Soviet Army had moved in, not to save Communists from any outside influences, but rather to impose the monolithic form of Soviet imperialism as an example to any other Communist state which might show some signs of a return to freedom. Leonid Brezhnev proclaimed his new and historic doctrine that Soviet armed force will intervene to prevent any Communist state from disregarding the political doctrines of the Kremlin. In effect he declared that no government in any Communist state had any right to reach its own decisions in regard to the social, economic and political life of its people. In that speech he wiped out any pretence of national freedom within the Communist Empire.

Brezhnev's threat of military force against any heretical Communist state does create a massive power bloc which may appear to give the Soviet empire dominating power over the rest of the world. But Brezhnev himself has demonstrated that this apparent power is in truth an illusion. Communist Parties all over the world were outraged by the brute force employed in Czechoslovakia.

Now let us examine from the Canadian point of view the international situation as it really is. We are told that only the balance of nuclear terror saves us from another world war, and that for this reason such organizations as NATO, SEATO and NORAD are no longer effective.

No more dangerous doctrine could be preached by supposedly responsible men. Those of us who have lived through two world wars remember that if there was one lesson which it was universally agreed those wars had taught, it was the vital necessity for free nations to stand together in effective readiness to defend their freedom against an aggressor.

When the First War ended, fifty years ago this month, there was general agreement that if the Kaiser and his military advisers had known in advance that the free nations of the world would stand together to prevent the dream of Deutschland uber Alles ever coming true, there would have been no war. It was in that belief that the League of Nations was formed in 1919. Its dominating purpose was to preserve peace by collective action. That ideal was never achieved. Hitler began the Second World War in 1939 because of his belief that the free nations would not act together to preserve their freedom. Again it was only after the most deadly and costly war in all history that the free nations again asserted their belief in the power of united action to restrain an aggressor, and the United Nations was organized with that principle as its keystone.

When that war ended, it was accepted as an undisputed fact that it would never have started if Hitler had known in advance that he would be facing the combined power of all the nations which in the end were ranged against him.

If all those millions who died to preserve freedom could send a message to us, I am sure it would be never to forget that only by unity of purpose and action, declared in advance supported by adequate preparations and equipment to meet the threat of aggression, can an aggressor be restrained and freedom preserved.

In the face of naked aggression such as we have seen in the last few months, surely this is no time for anyone with any knowledge of history and sense of responsibility to be advocating a reduction of NATO or other similar forces by ourselves or any of those free nations with which we are associated.

Unhappily we know only too well that there will be no collective enforcement of peace by the United Nations. Quite apart from any other consideration, there are too many puppet states of the Soviet empire who are members of the United Nations whose vote has the same power as if they were in fact free, sovereign states. Any illusion about this tragic farce was shattered by Brezhnev's unqualified statement two weeks ago that every Communist state must follow the Kremlin line under the threat of military force.

There is too much tendency for people to say, "Well, there is nothing we can do about it." There is a great deal that each one of us can do. Thank God we are still a democracy and can express our own opinions. What we do will have its impact elsewhere. Evidence of our firm purpose to follow the principles accepted without question as the one hope of preserving peace will encourage others to accept that principle, whether already in NATO, SEATO or any other collective body organized for that purpose. It might well lead to the creation of a wider organization embracing all free nations, and at last carrying into international effect the primary purpose of the League of Nations and later the United Nations. Collective action along these lines is the only hope of preventing another holocaust which could destroy everything as we know it today.

Any uncertainty on our part or on the part of other members of NATO will encourage the dreams of brute imperialism so openly declared by those barbarians in the Kremlin who we should always remember are not truly representative of the Russian people.

First of all we must, of course, deal with our own position here in Canada. There are those who argue that ours is a minor contribution to the combined force of NATO. That is not only untrue, but it is an insult to the men who have served Canada so well in our NATO forces in Europe. Our contribution has in fact been of the greatest importance. During the seven years that I was in London I was in constant contact with our units in different parts of Europe. As a Canadian I was immensely proud of the impression they made on those with whom they came in contact. Year after year in the Air Division the units of the Royal Canadian Air Force won the annual competitions in aerobatics and firing at the NATO ranges in Sardinia. Our Army Brigade was also regarded as one of the best-trained and effective units among all of the NATO forces. On several occasions it won first place in the annual competitions in which units from NATO countries engaged in North Germany. Our naval contribution to the exercises in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean was very highly regarded by the other members of NATO. From frequent personal contacts over several years I know that no military units in Europe were held in higher regard than the Canadian units of the different branches of our service by both the military and civilian groups with whom they are in contact. It would have a serious effect on the morale of NATO as a whole if those splendid units were withdrawn or even reduced. But above all is the effect it would have on the principle of collective security which is the only promise of our survival as a free nation.

There are those who say that with nuclear power conventional units are no longer of vital importance. Unfortunately there are many wars going on at present where the necessity for those conventional forces is being demonstrated day by day.

What of the argument that short of the use of nuclear power there would be no hope of withstanding the Soviet threat? That is simply not true.

The combined population of the free nations of the world exceeds that of the Soviet Union. And from the point of view of the ability to defend ourselves, there are vitally important factors we should bear in mind if we are prepared to work together. The most important component of military equipment and weapons is steel. Bearing that in mind, it is important to remember that in 1967 the steel production of the recognized steelmaking nations of the free world was 313,900,000 tons, whereas the total steel production of the Soviet empire was 102,200,000 tons. Our position in regard to other minerals as well as oil is equally or even more favourable. Given real unity of action and purpose and free nations are in a position to prevent war by demonstrating their ability to defend themselves by their superior power in men and material, if they make their purpose clear and leave no uncertainty.

One of the illusions which has affected some people's thinking about our part in NATO is the cost of maintaining our military units in Europe. It is used to suggest that we would save this amount if they were returned to Canada. That is not true. The air and army units are part of our permanent establishment which there is no thought of reducing. The saving by bringing these units back to Canada would be negligible. The administrative and pay costs would be the same. The maintenance is no higher, perhaps less, and the movement to and from Canada is merely part of our air transport exercise which would be carried out in any event.

Another illusion is that any strengthening of NATO would invite the possibility of military action. The truth is that the one thing above all else which might encourage aggression is the belief that we are not all prepared to take our part in clearly defined collective action.

Behind these figures of material strength there is, of course, the supremely important consideration of the spirit of the free nations.

We know that the Soviet Empire can be held together only by the threat of force, stated in such unqualified terms by Brezhnev two weeks ago.

That brings us to an examination of the spirit of our own people and its supreme importance in considering our part in the collective action required to preserve peace. There has never been any uncertainty about the spirit of our own people in the past. In peace and war they have demonstrated their initiative, energy and courage. Part of the price of the freedom we all so greatly cherish is that measure of self-discipline, decency, and cooperation which will give to any national undertaking the full strength of a dedicated people. At a time when we undoubtedly face one of the most dangerous situations with which we have ever been confronted, the united spirit of all our people will be the decisive factor.

For that reason, I do believe that Canadians should no longer ignore the organized attempts to destroy the educational structure upon which the strength of our country so largely depends, and in that way weaken the authority of the state and the unity of our people.

Of one thing let us be perfectly sure. If it should appear that the free democracies are not united for the purpose of collective security, or that the moral fibre of the free nations would not support the test of collective defence, then we would only be inviting the most disastrous war of all time by our apparent unwillingness to do those things which are necessary to give collective security real meaning. For each of us in our own way, that is the most important task which lies ahead.

The Price of Peace for ourselves and all free nations is our complete spiritual, physical and material dedication to the defence of peace and freedom in an effective organization for collective security.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. E. A. Royce.

DECEMBER 5, 1968

NIXON–HUMPHREY–WALLACE!

How One Was Chosen

AN ADDRESS BY Christopher Young,
EDITOR OF "THE OTTAWA CITIZEN"

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

In the long history of this Club we have been addressed by many of Canada's best editors – to mention only a few, Sir John Willison of the *Globe*, John W. Dafoe of the *Free Press*, Andre Laurendeau of *Le Devoir*, Blair Fraser of *Maclean's*, Grattan O'Leary of the *Journal*. These are men who have played a large part in Canadian life, but they are modest men, they don't like to be called pundits or even journalists. They always preferred to be known as newspapermen.

Let's not be misled by their modesty. We in Canada have had some of the best in the business. Among these is the Editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*, Mr. Christopher Young.

From his vantage-point in the capital of this nation he has watched the making – and sometimes the breaking – of *our* leaders. More recently he has seen how the Americans make and break their Presidents.

Before becoming Editor he was in the Press Gallery at

Ottawa representing the Southam Newspapers and he also travelled in Europe and Japan. He has been a close witness of the wisdom – and the follies – of all our favourite politicians, and also perhaps of the Universities, because he gained an education at the University of Manitoba and at Balliol College, Oxford. In his 20 years as a newsman he has worked for the *Hamilton Spectator* and the *Winnipeg Tribune* as well as in Ottawa.

He knows this country and he knows the United States. We have therefore invited him to report on the United States election as he saw it and the Candidates – as seen by a Canadian. – Mr. Young.

MR. YOUNG:

When Mr. Jolliffe asked me to address this famous club, I inquired with some trepidation how long the speech should run. "Oh," he said, "our speakers go anywhere from 15 minutes to 45." I thought then of the story about Calvin Coolidge, who was certainly the most silent of American presidents, if not the most distinguished in any other way. So remarkable was Coolidge for terseness of speech that one of his staff members once bet another that he couldn't make the President say more than two words. The man who took the bet decided on the direct approach. The next time he entered the oval office, he said: "Mr. President, my colleague has bet me ten dollars that I can't make you say more than two words." To which Coolidge replied: "You lose."

I didn't say to Mr. Jolliffe, "You lose" – that will be for this audience to decide – but I did tell him that no one need worry about getting back to the office late.

Coolidge was often in my mind a month ago when I was in the United States writing about the final stages of the election campaign. You will recall that he was one of those vice-presidents who attained the White House because his president died in office. President Harding was possibly even less well equipped for the position than Vice-President

Coolidge. His administration is mainly remembered for the Teapot Dome scandal and for the fact that the president's mistress was delivered of his bastard child in a White House closet. Even so, mention of Coolidge inevitably evokes what Americans call "the heartbeat issue".

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., the Harvard historian, played on this issue rather cleverly at a pro-Humphrey rally which I attended last month. He recalled that Spiro Agnew had recently made the pronouncement that "Overcrowding is the cause of slums." This, said Schlesinger, was "the most profound remark since Calvin Coolidge ventured the thought that unemployment was caused by having too many people out of work."

I suspect that it was Nixon's choice of Agnew as his running mate, as much as anything else, that caused his spectacular decline from a position that should have given him a landslide victory in September to the hair's breadth decision of November. There were two things about the choice of Agnew that were worrying. First, it showed that Nixon was concerned primarily about the threat from George Wallace and his gang of bigots, rednecks and frustrated bullyboys. He was determined to outflank Wallace on the right by making an appeal to all those voters who were fearful or angry about the thrusting aspirations of the Negro. He decided to make the so-called "law and order" issue his own.

And the second thing that was significant about the Agnew choice, to me at least, was that it revealed the basic cynicism of Nixon's political approach. He was willing to risk the possibility that the United States might be left in dangerous times with a man like Agnew at the helm because he wanted so badly to win the southern votes that he thought Agnew and Strom Thurmond could collect for him.

The Americans, in my opinion, are not in general a cynical people and a great many of them did not like this blatant manoeuvre. As the vice-presidential candidate uttered a series of gaucheries that came to be known as

"Agnewisms", the theory developed that his appointment was really a clever kind of life insurance for Nixon. With Agnew as vice-president, no one would dare to harm the president. Agnew weakened the ticket dramatically, as Edmund Muskie strengthened Humphrey. Agnew could not even persuade his own state of Maryland into the Nixon column. Many uncommitted voters who were inclined to vote against the Democrats because of the Vietnam war, trouble in the streets, inflation, or other frustrations, swung to Humphrey in the final stages of the campaign. One reason was that Humphrey was dealing with these big issues whereas Nixon was only trying to manipulate them.

The most alarming thing about the Nixon campaign, as I saw it, was this: He deliberately set out to win the presidency without the help of those angry and alienated elements of the American society whose resentment has created so much trouble during President Johnson's term. Above all, he wrote off the most important of American minorities – the Negroes. The choice of Agnew was the tip that this would be the strategy, and the nature of the Republican campaign confirmed it. Nixon hardly ever toured a Negro ghetto or an urban slum. At his big city rallies, you could hardly find a black face. The focus of his campaign was in the suburbs and the small towns. He calculated that if he could be sure of winning the white, the well-to-do, the middle-aged and middle-browed – who after all make up the great majority of Americans – he could afford to lose the coloured, the poor, the students and the intellectuals – all of whom together make a minority.

Nixon's campaign speeches – or speech, because he usually gave the same one – were slick and hollow generalizations designed to appeal to majority prejudice, to rub the majority sore spots, and to avoid all specific proposals. For example, he tried to present himself both as the peace candidate and as the man who would keep America strong in the face of military challenge. I noted down this sentence from a Nixon speech in Pittsburgh: "I am proud to have served in an administration in which we ended one war and kept the nation out of other wars for eight years." The Johnson administration, he continued, had "the most miserable record" in American history. It was responsible for the longest war the country had ever fought, the worst crime rate, the highest tax rate and the lowest level of foreign respect for America.

Changing gears smoothly, Nixon then said it was *time* for new leadership "when a fourth-rate naval power like North Korea" could get away with seizing an American ship. This seemed to imply something other than a peace platform, since even fourth-rate powers are unlikely to accept, unless force is applied, the presence of unfriendly warships inside their territorial waters. The inconsistency did not bother Nixon, who went on to promise both that "the American flag will not be a doormat for anyone, at home or abroad," and that he planned "to move away from the draft and have a volunteer armed service."

Well, now that Nixon is going to be president, Art Buchwald has announced that we can no longer call him "Tricky Dick". But you can understand why Buchwald proposes as an alternative, "Crafty Richard".

"Crafty", on the other hand, is one of the last adjectives that would be appropriate for Hubert Humphrey. He seems totally lacking in guile, and so genuine in his liberalism that one almost suspects him, as somebody said long ago of the British Labour party, of allowing his bleeding heart to go to his bloody head. Perhaps it's my own prejudice in favour of politicians who have a heart and show it, but I thought he waged an admirable campaign. The disaster of the Chicago convention might have crushed him, and nearly did. But he fought back with enormous courage and stamina and he very nearly pulled off a comeback on the scale of Harry Truman's upset in 1948.

Humphrey took almost the entire Negro vote by default, because of Nixon's tactics, but he failed to get through to discontented youth. The Vietnam war hung about his neck like an albatross, which was no more fair to him than it was to the Ancient Mariner. "Dump the Hump," cried the Yippies, who nominated a pig for president.

I was deeply struck by the irony of the leftward position one night in New York City. I spent part of that evening in the gleaming new Madison Square Garden, where the Republicans put on a slick and supercolossal rally, and paid ABC television $200,000 to get an hour of it on the network. They had Jackie Gleason delivering a Nixon commercial on a giant overhead screen. They had the disembodied voice of Mamie Eisenhower testifying for Nixon from her husband's sickbed in Walter Reed Army Hospital. They had Lionel Hampton and the Serendipity Singers and six state governors from Spiro Agnew to Nelson Rockefeller.

I ducked out of this extravaganza and walked two blocks to a rather small and shabby hall called the Manhattan Centre. There the Americans for Democratic Action – the radical wing of the Democratic party – were trying to rally the disenchanted left to the cause of Hubert Humphrey. Harvard professors spoke, and Negro leaders, and theatrical people like Shelley Winters. The main speaker of the evening was John Kenneth Galbraith, who is president of A.D.A. among his many other activities.

There had been no heckling at all at the Nixon rally so far as I could see, but when Galbraith unlimbered his giant frame to address the A.D.A. rally, a strange thing happened. A claque of Yippies, previously unnoticed in the hall, suddenly disrupted the meeting with shouts of "Fascist," "Pig," and "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh." There was a great deal of scuffling and rushing down the aisles, and suddenly one long-haired young man appeared on the stage in front of the row of distinguished speakers totally naked. A policeman wearing a riot helmet and waving his truncheon chased the naked Yippie off the stage in a scene straight from the theatre of the absurd. It looked exactly as though the D'Oyly Carte chorus had got itself mixed up with the cast of Hair.

This may well have been the only time in his life when the voluble Galbraith was struck dumb. He stood frozen to the microphone, as I'm sure most of us would do in similar circumstances, but Shelley Winters' stage experience came to the rescue. She rushed to the microphone and screamed at the Yippies: "Why didn't you demonstrate at the Wallace or Nixon rallies?"

It was a fair question, and the broadsheet distributed by the Yippies left an unsatisfactory answer. "You are all pigs," it said. Radical youth, it seems, made no distinction among the established political leaders. They were all to be swept into the dustbin of history.

Among more mature people, I think there was a very deep feeling of disillusion flowing not only from the war but from the terrible events at home. The men of hope were dead, murdered by the haters. John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy. Hubert Humphrey was running for president by a process of deadly elimination, and that was not an inspiring thought. A Negro told me he was for Humphrey, but then he added quietly: "I don't really care. They killed my man." He thought Ted Kennedy would be crazy to run next time, because they would certainly kill him too.

A Canadian expatriate in Washington described Humphrey's trouble as "Paul Martin disease". The American people simply could not get excited about him. He had been around too long. His face was too familiar. He had talked too much about too many things that had ceased to be of central interest to the electorate. Nevertheless, it seems an irony that the Democratic party, which perhaps deserved defeat for the troubles of the last four years and for the spectacle it made of itself in Chicago, should have been triumphantly returned to control of the Congress; while its presidential candidate, who talked a great deal of sense about the major issues, should have lost.

That kind of result, of course, could not happen under our system. If we want to vote the party, we get the leader the party has chosen. If we want to vote for a leader, we can do it only by voting for his party's candidate. If we split very nearly down the middle, as we did in 1962, '63 and '65, we get a minority government, something that doesn't exist in the American system. Richard Nixon, despite a victory that was so close in the popular vote that it was almost a tie, will be a president with powers as ample as those that Lyndon Johnson enjoyed after the record landslide of 1964. On the other hand, our system cannot produce a deadlock, which was the nightmare of the 1968 presidential campaign.

George Wallace, the man who conjured up this nightmare, is a symptom of the real sickness in certain cells of the American body politic. He is the negation of the American dream. He is dedicated to the proposition that men are created unequal and that some of them must on no account be allowed the pursuit of liberty and happiness. More subtly than the Ku Klux Klan, he tells his followers how to keep the Negro down: by encouraging segregated housing and restoring segregated schools; by jailing dissident students and critical professors; by carrying arms against those whom he would condemn to dwell forever in the ghettoes. I heard him urge these solutions at a rally in Philadelphia – the city of brotherly love. To hear him speak is to sense the worst that could happen to the American Republic.

But the American people have no intention of letting it happen. Their vote for Wallace was significant, but it was much smaller than had been widely predicted, and his strength was restricted to sections of what used to be known, in what now seems a distant past, as the Democratic Solid South.

The turnout for Wallace in Philadelphia was very disappointing to the organizers. Those who came to cheer yelled with delight as he attacked the "pointy heads", the *New York Times*, and a tiny band of hecklers. But the crowd filled only a small fraction of the seats in the huge hockey and basketball arena where the rally was held. Enroute to the arena, the Negro taxi driver made very good time through light traffic. This obviously gave him satisfaction.

"If Wilt Chamberlain was in town," he said, "you couldn't get through nohow."

When the rally began, a clergyman whose peculiar interpretation of Christianity had led him into this devilish company, was asked to give an invocation. He addressed his God with the following beautifully ungrammatical solecism: "We pray that if elected you will use Governor Wallace as an instrument . . ." and so on.

Well, God was not elected, and neither was Governor Wallace. The more realistic possibility that Wallace might have been able to use the Electoral College for driving some kind of bargain with a Faustian Nixon also vanished like a bad dream on the morning after election day, and for that it would perhaps be appropriate to thank God.

That was the nightmare that kept sensible men awake a month ago – not a Wallace victory, but sufficient Wallace strength to create a deadlock in the Electoral College. Perhaps that scare will be enough to inspire a successful movement to abolish the Electoral College. It is an eighteenth-century anachronism that has no relevance to the modern American democracy.

By good fortune, a deadlock in the Electoral College has not occurred since the nineteenth century. No one knows exactly what would have happened if it had occurred this time, or how the resulting paralysis would have affected the United States and the western alliance. Canadians, whose fate rides with American judgment, may well share in the general gratitude that it did not happen.

We have something else to be thankful for – a passing thing I hope, for I wish only success and constructive achievement to the United States. The fact is that we had a better choice than our neighbours did in this important political year, 1968. There have been times in the past when that was not so, and there will be such times in the future. But this year our political parties were more cohesive than theirs, and spoke more clearly about the directions in which they wanted to take the country. They even made a better fist of suggesting to the world at large the kind of problems that needed to be attacked first, and how.

On the individual level of leadership, we elected a young prime minister as politicians go – a brilliant scholar whose stylish intelligence could win the enthusiastic respect of our majority, could comprehend the aspirations of our most important minority, and would not forget the needs of those long neglected splinters of society whose numbers have never compelled political priority. As a realistic alternative, we could have followed the leader of the opposition – a man of sterling integrity, of granite common sense, of modest and genuine humanity. If we felt dissatisfied with the two leaders who could hope to win the election and if we wanted to express that feeling in a third-party vote, we were not required to turn to an ignorant demagogue preaching hate and communal war. The leader of the NDP we knew to be a dedicated reformer of long practical experience.

If any one of these three Canadian political leaders had been able to present himself to the American electorate in 1968, I venture to think he would have done very well indeed. Which is not to be smug – we have no right to be that – but only to remark on the good fortune that has promoted honest and able men to the leadership of contemporary Canada.

Adlai Stevenson said of Eleanor Roosevelt that she would rather light a candle than curse the darkness. If we can keep a guttering candle aflame here in the northern winter, it may be more useful to the common future of this continent than any curses we may invent for Richard Daley or George Wallace. The America of Jefferson and Lincoln, of Stevenson and Kennedy, will outlast the haters and destroyers. The news of its death, to steal from Mark Twain, has been grossly exaggerated.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. A. J. Langley.

DECEMBER 11, 1968

Christmas Meeting

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

Your Honour, Ladies and Gentlemen: The members of The Empire Club of Canada and their guests extend a most cordial welcome to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor and his daughter, Mrs. Haldenby. Although this happy occasion falls within his first year of office, his presence here today is in keeping with a time-honoured tradition attached to the Annual Christmas Party of the Club. This Club has always endeavoured to perform a public service by the exchange of informed opinion. It is loyal to a united Canada and a continuing Commonwealth, whose head, the Queen of Canada, is represented by you, sir, as her Lieutenant-Governor in and for the Province of Ontario. This being a Christmas Party and something of a family occasion, it is also fitting that we welcome you here for the first time as our Honorary Vice-President and a member of the Empire Club family. Your Honour:

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor brought greetings on behalf of the Queen to the Empire Club of Canada's Christmas Party.

We welcome here also His Honour's daughter, Mrs. Haldenby, in token whereof our Immediate Past President has a certain duty to perform.

Mr. Gore presented a bouquet of roses to Mrs. Haldenby.

Mr. Jolliffe presented to the Immediate Past President, Mr. Graham Gore, an illuminated Certificate, signed by our Honorary President, the Governor General of Canada, and presented a bouquet of roses to Mrs. Gore.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

I should also say a word of welcome to certain guests who are here today, those secretaries who have assisted our officers and directors in making it possible for the Club's work to be carried on, and who have done many long hours of work to that end. They may, like the Club's own office secretary, prefer to remain anonymous, but we are most grateful for their courtesy and co-operation.

We should all like the Christmas season to be one of peace on earth and goodwill to all men, a season of joy. It would not be the same, it could not be the same, without music.

We are going to hear today from a group of two, a most unusual couple who have made a distinguished contribution to music in this city, Merv and Merla Watson. Mrs. Watson holds four degrees from the Royal Conservatory of Music, in voice, piano, the viola and the violin. She is also a composer, having written almost 100 songs and a Folk Mass which has often been performed. In 1962 she toured the Middle East with the C.B.C. Concert Party which visited our troops in the Suez area.

Mr. Watson is a Bachelor of Music, University of Toronto. Since their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Watson have performed at Universities and on radio and television in Canada, the United States and Europe. They have also made two long-play recordings, which grew out of the School-house Concert series.

That series encompasses not only music but art and drama and resulted in about five concerts a year attended by many thousands of people. It has been described as a new popular art form in the Christian tradition and is identified particularly with "the School-house," Toronto's oldest school-house, at the corner of King Street and Parliament Street, which was built in 1848 at the extravagant cost of three hundred pounds sterling. It was used from 1857 to 1887, when Toronto's educational budget was about $25,000 per annum. It is now a base for the School-house Singers, led by Merv and Merla Watson.

Their programme here today includes the comic and the reverent, Christmas music and other music, the English language and other languages, the piano and other instruments.

I now introduce to you, Merv and Merla Watson.

JANUARY 9, 1969

TORONTO— Boom Town of North America

AN ADDRESS BY His Worship
Mayor William Dennison

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

When Mayor Dennison agreed, on rather short notice, to speak here today, I at once resolved that I must get all the facts straight about both the Mayor and his City. I therefore resorted to the best encyclopedia I know (and a recent edition at that) and the first discovery I made was the following:

> "Toronto, a village of Jefferson County, Ohio, on the Ohio River, 40 miles west of Pittsburgh, served by the Pennsylvania Railroad, a bus line and river steamboats. Population, 7,253."

Now I knew you can't believe everything you read about Toronto, or about Mayor Dennison – so I was not too discouraged. I persevered patiently, doggedly; I looked a little further, and found that there *is* another Toronto, there really is. It is described at the outset as follows:

> "Toronto, the capital of Ontario and the second largest city in Canada, situated on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, almost due north from the mouth of the Niagara

> River. It lies on a plateau ascending from the lakeshore to an altitude of 300 feet and covers approximately 40 square miles, including the bay and the islands stretching along the south of the city. The Don River flows through the eastern part of the City and the Humber River forms its western limit."

Well, that sounded a little closer home and I knew I was on the right track at last, but the description didn't seem entirely adequate, so I decided to abandon my research in depth and let the Mayor himself tell us what Toronto is all about and what makes it stand out on the North American landscape today. And he is well qualified to do so.

William Dennison was born in Renfrew County, one of the more rugged areas of rural Ontario. For 20 years he was a stammerer, he stuttered. It was characteristic of him that he should set out to overcome, and he did overcome, what could have been a permanent handicap.

First, he left the farm and became a travelling salesman. Second, he went to New York and successfully passed a course in speech correction, mastering the theory as well as the practice of that special form of therapy. Third, he returned to Canada and established our only residential school of speech correction, and with success. Fourth, he went into politics in 1932 and has stayed there ever since.

Since 1938 he has served a total of 21 years as an elected representative in local government at every level from the Board of Education to the Metro Executive. In his spare time he was an opposition member of the Legislature from 1943 to 1945 and 1948 to 1951 – and a very active one. He is an ardent golfer, a swimmer, a curler, a carpenter and a tree planter. He also likes to view the downtown skyline from a helicopter. But he is on our platform today, earthbound, and I ask him to speak now on his topic – Toronto, Boom Town of North America.

MR. DENNISON:

Mr. President, distinguished Members of the Head Table, Members of the Empire Club, gentlemen:

May I say how pleased and honoured I am to be addressing the first meeting of the Empire Club for the year 1969. Had the Club not provided me with a title for my talk, I would have used the heading of an editorial which appeared in the *Telegram* recently entitled "Toronto Doing Fine".

I would like now to outline here today, to this assembly, a review of the past two years of Toronto's progress and what I hope to see in 1969.

In reviewing first of all developments that have been or are to take place in Toronto, I would like to put you in the position of our first Governor, John Graves Simcoe. Governor Simcoe had his first glimpse of Toronto 176 years ago on May 2nd, 1793, when, accompanied by his officers, he rode from Newark, on Niagara-on-the-Lake, where the provincial capital of Upper Canada was established, around the head of Lake Ontario to this site.

Imagine what would confront him today if he anchored his boat in Toronto harbour. But better still, imagine what would confront him twenty-five years hence when some of the present plans for the development of our central core are completed. His eyes would wander in wonderment from Yonge to Bathurst where a billion-dollar development has been built by the CN-CP Railways. *Then* looking upward he would gaze at the communications tower soaring 1575 feet into the sky which will be developed on that site by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and this would have a rotating restaurant at the thousand foot level and would be the highest building in Canada. Then to his right and to the east there would be the great development which has now been taken *over* by the Campeau Corporation of Ottawa. The Governor would have two ways to travel north. One, by way of the many underground passageways which would link our city, enabling people to travel underground from the waterfront up to city hall, and along these passages will be the most interesting boutiques and restaurants so that citizens can go shopping in Toronto in all weather. However, I would suggest that he travel *above ground* and after crossing via the transportation terminal, which will be part of the CN-CP metro centre, he would see towering before him the Toronto-Dominion Bank with its twin towers, and slightly higher than that, the new Canadian-Imperial Bank of Commerce building. On detouring to his right he will then be amongst our south-east urban renewal study area which stretches from Yonge and King to Jarvis and Front. This involves many new buildings and most prominent of course will be the new St. Lawrence Centre for the Arts which will include a concert hall and town hall. This will provide great opportunities for the young people of Ontario to express their talents as well as the established professional groups in the country and internationally.

I would then advise the Governor to travel up Bay Street to Queen and to his right he would see the magnificent Simpson Tower and to his left would be the world headquarters building of the Thomson newspaper chain, the new building of Yolles and Rotenberg, and opposite the magnificent new City Hall would be the new hotel which was recently awarded to Inn-on-the-Park. After he has been taken on a tour of our new City Hall, we would take him to the north and there he would see the newly replanned Chinatown and also Circuit House which is a large apartment hotel complex between Chestnut and Elizabeth Streets.

Proceeding up University Avenue then, at the corner of University and College, he would see another modernistic building, that of the Ontario Hydro Commission – plans of which were recently announced.

Slightly north and away to his right stretching from Queen's Park to Yonge Street, there would be the entire Queen's Park complex – an exciting development which will be built by the Government of Ontario to house their many departments.

We would then proceed on to Yonge and Bloor and on the north-east corner would be a new development stretching from Yonge Street as far as Church. We would then go to Eglinton and Yonge for our new Eglinton Square which will be a large complex to be built on the north-west corner.

I have told you briefly *some* of the multi-million-dollar developments that are planned for the city. However, we must not overlook the citizen and we are working actively with the Kensington area and the Don Mount area in revitalizing these old parts of the city which will help to balance the huge chrome and steel edifices that will then dominate the city's skyline.

Some people think Toronto is a middle-aged city slowing down and suffering from hardening of the traffic arteries and various other maladies. This could not be further from the truth. Toronto is a *young vital* city. Its skyline will change almost as quickly as prices on the Bay Street stock exchange.

The city's 38 square miles are built up – and its population of about 700,000 is not expected to increase by more than 5 or 6 per cent by 1981. Behind this facade of normality, there are fantastic scenery changes occurring almost daily. Toronto is the focal point of a rapidly-growing region and a full one-third of the buying power in Canada lies within a hundred miles of our downtown.

The only source of additional land available to the city is the waterfront and this is being utilized to its fullest by the Campeau Development and the CN-CP, which will do much to remove the ugly but necessary blight of the railway yards. Furthermore, the Toronto harbour is very much under review and I will briefly describe what is planned there.

Toronto's harbour

The Toronto harbour has become world famous and each year continues to increase the number of ships and companies from all parts of the world, which come in the St. Lawrence River to this port. Ninety per cent of all shipping to and from Canadian ports on the Great Lakes now goes through Toronto. Our new harbour development, which is part of the waterfront plan, and which now runs out into the lake well over two miles, will more than double the capacity of Toronto's harbour and will be the first stage of an overall waterfront development plan that will include new parkland and high-rise apartment buildings for 30,000 people in what is now the airport and western gap area. The full development of the Island for recreation purposes will include a children's camping area and an 18-hole par 3 golf course. It will include the closing of the western gap and the use of an enlarged eastern gap for all freight traffic into the port of Toronto.

The waterfront plan

With the development of an enlarged Canadian National Exhibition out into the lake; a jet airport to the south-west of Gibraltar Point; boating facilities in the lake opposite Ashbridge's Bay and in the new area to be filled in to the west of the western gap, Toronto will have one of the finest lakefronts on the continent.

Once people realize that Toronto is indeed a city on the move, the next step is to show them that it is also a city with a heart. In the midst of the high rise apartment boom, significant areas of low density family housing are being set aside in areas of stability. The planting of trees and the provision of walkways, arcades, mini-parks and carefully-designed street furniture, are sound policies both in terms of people and profit.

The site that will *be the Toronto* of the future will be seriously hampered by its tremendous size unless present plans adequately integrate transportation *with development.* I am pleased to note that next month the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities has inspired a conference – the *first Canadian urban transportation conference*, which will be held here in this hotel in the early part of February.

I mentioned previously that one will some day be able to walk underground downtown and of course I shouldn't overlook the subway system which is, at present, the finest in Canada, and with forthcoming plans it will lead the continent in miles of modern transit available to the public. The channeling of the subway, as with other public transportation facilities, will again be from the CN-CP Centre where there will be a magnificent transportation terminal available, and, in addition to the subway, the GO Transit. I hope that the Government of Ontario will *by then* have provided more routes north, and, of course, we shall welcome the out-of-town long-distance railway trains and the vast network of urban bus lines.

I would like now to deal with some of the issues that have been discussed at the Toronto city council in the last two years.

Taxes

As I judged the mood of the people in the last election, there was one message which came through loud and clear. It was the oft-repeated appeal from the home owners that we must not raise their taxes. This request we tried to carry out but, unfortunately, although city council reduced *its* taxes by nearly 2 mills in 1967, the Board of Education and Metro together were responsible for a 6-mill increase. Ninety per cent of this increase was due to the Board of Education and ten per cent to Metro. None of the increase was due to the City of Toronto.

In 1968, again we kept our Toronto tax rate approximately the same as it was the previous year and well below the year 1966.

Spending the taxpayers' money

The spending programme I have supported has been forward looking. It has had imagination and balance, but it has been developed and thought out with regard for the ability of our taxpayers to carry the load.

For instance, in 1967 we discussed whether we would spend $15,000,000 on the acquisition and development of Chinatown. Two of the three newspapers proposed we should not hesitate, but go ahead and spend the $15,000,000.

The *Globe* went further. They suggested that Metro, who are its present owners, tear down the old city hall and make a park where the building is located. This would have meant a further spending of $6,000,000 or $7,000,000 to build a new Metro Magistrates' Court House. They also wanted Toronto to make a park south of Queen Street. These proposed expenditures could easily have equalled the $30,000,000 we spent to acquire the land and build the new city hall. However, by not rushing into public acquisition of properties in the Chinatown area, north of the new city hall, *private enterprise* has now assembled the land and will be constructing a building here which will complement the new city hall and will provide a 700-room hotel and office building complex – Circuit House – which will cost in the neighbourhood of $20,000,000.

It is not only on capital spending that we get this kind of advice from the press, but we get it on current spending as well. During the recent snow storm, one of the heaviest snow storms we have had in some years, we were advised by one newspaper that we should have had the equipment to clean the snow off on the very day it fell. We *are going* to make a study of the efficiency of our snow removal operations, but I want to tell you that to take the snow off the streets of the whole city of Toronto on *the day it fell* would require probably another $15,000,000 or $20,000,000 in snow removal equipment. This is the kind of thing which causes municipalities to get into financial trouble by overspending and, in this case, it would be overspending for equipment that might be used only four days a year.

Party politics

Early in 1967, I reminded aldermen and controllers that the municipal government in Toronto, like all Ontario municipal governments, is a non-party government. Each member possesses only one vote on council and it is only through working together, in co-operation with one another, that we can achieve anything for the people.

I said I would *not* like to see party politics introduced into municipal government because if that happened, regardless of arguments put forward in council, and regardless of debate in council, when the caucus of the party made a decision, all members of the party would be forced to vote for that decision, regardless of whether it seemed sensible or not when debate was finished.

Leadership

There is one kind of leadership we can do without on city council and that is the idea that all problems can be solved and a great city built merely by spending money. If we create a tax rate that becomes such a burden on our citizens that they have to move to other municipalities to live, then we defeat the whole purpose of taxation – to provide the services that people want, need and can pay for.

An example of arrogance masquerading under the banner of leadership is the idea that any proposal can be rammed through council without reports, without adequate study and good business consideration. This is undoubtedly what happened to the pension proposal put forward by the political party groups on council this year. This kind of pressuring an issue through council is something that council does not need and is better off without. Leadership should not involve hogging the show, nor does it mean leading a one-man band. Leadership should not be the exclusive prerogative of any one person.

In our municipal system of non-party administration, leadership must be a shared responsibility achieved by co-operation and by working together, and it should involve all members of council.

The St. Lawrence Hall

Since the opening of the St. Lawrence Hall – our second centennial project – over a year ago, it has proven to be a very popular meeting place for Toronto citizens and is booked on some days for years in advance. The total cost of renovating the St. Lawrence Hall ran well over $2,000,000, but $1,000,000 of that was donated by citizens and companies who were interested in seeing that one of Toronto's centennial projects was finally constructed.

In addition, on the second floor of the building, the National Ballet School of Canada has its offices and training floor. The restored St. Lawrence Hall is a building which, in the past, has seen so much of Toronto's community life. It is a beautiful edifice of stone and marble in our downtown forest of glass and steel.

This year the city re-built the St. Lawrence Market, at Front and Jarvis Streets, at a cost of about $775,000. This is an up-to-date farmers' market on Saturday and can be used for other purposes for the balance of the week. It will have five small stores on the west side of the building, with entrances out on to Market Street, which will become a closed-in mall.

In addition, in between the St. Lawrence Market and the St. Lawrence Hall, there will be an open-air patio, which we hope to have fitted as an outdoor restaurant.

The market building will have a stage so that public meetings and large banquets can be held there and things like trade-centre displays will be very suitable for this building during weekdays.

Convention facilities

Toronto has become one of the great convention cities of this continent. We have everything needed to be such a city – location, transportation, a lake and other necessary facilities. However, we need an enlarged hotel complex and we need suitable buildings for convention and trade fair purposes. These are being constructed. In the next year, two new hotels will begin construction and another one will be announced soon.

Toronto has one of the most modern seaports in the world. Our harbour is well protected and the island beyond the harbour provides the finest civic park on the Great Lakes

– a park that some day will attract not tens of thousands, but hundreds of thousands of people who will use it as a weekend playground, *nearby,* but still *away* from the congested city.

Fortunately Metro has continued its island development but at a slower pace because of the great pressure that has been generated by those who want the special privilege of living there.

People like Toronto

As Mayor of Toronto I have a unique opportunity to meet hundreds of visitors to this city. They come to Toronto to attend conventions. They stop off as tourists on their trips to the north country. They come to see the new city hall and ask to see my office, and so on.

I wish the citizens of Toronto could hear the remarks I hear from these people. They tell me about Toronto being a beautiful city. They are loud in praise of the cleanliness of this city. Our policemen draw forth great praise for their courtesy and help. They all remark on the friendliness of Toronto people and many express a desire to come and live in Toronto at the earliest opportunity. These visitors consider Toronto, not only as a city but, as a top-rate city, and many of them consider it the most desirable city environment of any city of similar size in North America.

Recently Nathan Cohen, a known critic of all things "Toronto," returned from a ten-city trip through the U.S.A. I heard him on radio ask the question, "Are you listening Mayor Dennison?" And then he went on to describe Toronto as a city that is talked about as a leader, in *cities* throughout the whole U.S.A.

I'm concerned with making Toronto a place where people want to live. I'm concerned that we should continue to attract people from all parts of the world as we are doing today. I'm concerned that Toronto people are unable to get housing here and must live in Lindsay, Orangeville, Markham, Richmond Hill, Brampton and Oshawa. But I am also aware that we must continue to make this city a place where people can afford to live. This involves careful budgeting.

If we are going to attract private spending in the core area of this great metropolis, we must be able to convince the investor in development here that his tax dollars will be carefully spent and not squandered and that our council will, when a budget is struck, stick to that budget and not overspend and have to come back with a second tax bill at the end of the year.

In conclusion, Mr. President, this city has a lot of natural attributes which have helped it succeed. Man-made efforts are equally important to sustain the vitality of this area. I feel that this area can no longer endure splinter municipalities when all the influence and economy is directed from the central core. Let us accept the boroughs in Metro for what they are, as fine dormitory communities for the city of Toronto. But, to make this area more effective, let us put it all together under one roof with *one mayor* and *one council* so that we all can proudly call ourselves Torontonians and not pseudo-Torontonians.

The provincial government can no longer hide behind large reports and studies and mutter that if Metro is one – that it will be too powerful for the province to handle. Even in its present form Metro could, if it wanted to, adopt an opposition to the province. But this it will never do and I feel, most sincerely, that for the whole area to be guided under one council with one set of departments and not a multiplicity of departments as we now endure, will be the outlook for the future.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. Peter Hermant.

JANUARY 16, 1969

This World and the Mind of Man

AN ADDRESS BY Dr. Wilder Penfield, O.M.

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

As we all know, children in our schools are invariably told about the early explorers. And there are many exciting tales of their advances in the human story – from the man who first circumnavigated the globe to those who recently circled the moon.

But there have been other explorers, other great voyages into the unknown, no less exciting, probably in the end more important. Among the great explorers is Dr. Wilder Graves Penfield. His life has been crowded with experience, adventure, inquiry and achievement. He studied under men like Woodrow Wilson at Princeton and Sir William Osler at Oxford. He has been a student of philosophy and literature, an athlete, a football coach, a scientist, a physician, a pioneer in neurosurgery, and head of the famous neurological institute at Montreal. He was a casualty in the first World War, later a Colonel in the Army, a teacher, the author of many scientific works and even a novelist. With the Vanier Institute he has led a study of the evolution of the modern family and its needs. He was by birth a United States citizen, became a Canadian citizen by choice 35 years ago; he is a citizen of the world. His work has been recognized and honoured in so many countries that the list reads like a roll-call of the United Nations. I mention only one: he holds – and he is the only Canadian to hold – that very rare and perhaps most distinctive of all civilian awards: the Order of Merit.

He has often shown what must be described as extraordinary prescience about certain of the more significant issues of our time. I shall cite only three.

More than 15 years ago, when little thought was given by most of us to the use of more than one language, he told the American Academy of Arts and Sciences that if languages are learned in the right way, and particularly if they are learned at the right age, preferably before the age of ten, a second language and even a third language may be learned perfectly with little effort and without physiological confusion, and that this could lead to a richer and fuller life.

A decade ago, before early retirement and universal pensions gained general acceptance in Canada, he advocated a second and different career for men after 60; he attacked the fallacy that older men and women have nothing to contribute to society and he described the psychological malady of pseudo-senility or false senility which afflicts those who allow themselves to rust away instead of engaging in constructive and purposeful activity. He said: "Every year from birth to death has its purpose and should have its use."

And long before so many millions were spent on probing the depths below our seas and our land, and so many billions of dollars on exploring outer space, Dr. Penfield referred pointedly to that "knowing animal, *homo sapiens*, who knows so much about his world, so little about himself." Today he will talk to us about ourselves – we who know so much, and so little.

DR. PENFIELD

Prologue

When Apollo 8 took its recent flight from earth to moon and back to earth, you and I joined the astronauts in spirit for fleeting but unforgettable moments – an imaginary companionship, but real nonetheless. Thanks to the incredible perfection of that scientific project, we seemed to be looking out of the space-craft with a heavenly perspective. We saw the moon, the planets, the galaxies, and, strangest of all, as we moved away at a speed of nearly 25,000 miles an hour, the world. Our world was no more than a dwindling satellite. Returning after this faultless flight of half a million miles, some of us splashed down again, punctual to the Pacific Ocean *rendez-vous*, and floated there with the astronauts, regaining an earthly perspective.

What the loyal members of Britain's Flat Earth Association may have thought of all this "nonsense" is not recorded. We laugh at this little band of stubborn-minded Englishmen. But most of us have something in common with them. In spite of Copernicus and Galileo, we still think, instinctively, that we stand at the very centre of the universe. And there are very good reasons for doing so, as I shall point out.

Last year, your President, Graham Gore, was good enough to invite me to one of your luncheons. "Speak to us," he wrote, "on a topic close to your heart or at any rate one of your own choice." His first surmise was correct. Since 1960, when I left behind me the investigation of the human brain with its surgery and turned to the art of writing, hoping to make of that a second career, many topics beyond the frontiers of medical concern have been "close" to my "heart".

This is not my first appearance before this venerable society. At the close of the war in 1944, I had started to write a historical novel during a short stay in Baghdad. It was a woman and an accident that started me on it, as I explained to the Empire Club when in 1954, the book was published, ten years later. They asked me to speak, I think, because President Arthur Inwood was curious. He must have surmised that another surgeon had gone off the rails! So he chose April 1st as the date and made it Ladies' Day – so wives could see the fun.

The book had called for five years of occasional research and painful efforts to learn to write and five years of occasional writing and polishing of the second draft, but the work fascinated me. It was called "No Other Gods", a historical novel that had to do with Abraham, the founder of monotheism, and Sarah, before they appeared in the pages of the Bible.

After that, having discovered thus that historical fiction is a most effective method of presenting the truth about the distant past, I turned to Hippocrates, the Father of Medicine. As a man, he had almost been lost in the haze of time. And so, "The Torch', which was better done, followed four years later, just as I was turning away from medicine.

I propose to make some observations about the mind of man. This topic will bring us to the border line where scientist and layman must meet. Forgive me if I seem to make a circuitous approach to this topic.

You did disturb my equilibrium profoundly, Mr. President, when you made this "Ladies' Day". I am no psychoanalyst – not yet. But I suspect this explains the uneasy feeling of inferiority that has come upon me during the weeks of preparation for this address.

In the past four years, while involved in helping to launch the Vanier Institute of the Family, I have, sometimes, dared to criticize the "new woman" of the West. Perhaps I may now pay my tribute to women, both new and old. But first there is something I would like to quote. At the close of the three days of discussion at the Canadian Conference on the Family in 1964, a woman asked to speak from the floor:

"I think," she said, "families are fun. We have talked about the heart-breaks and the strains, and these are problems we all have to face, but let us keep all this in perspective. We learn from our families to be considerate of others; we learn tolerance; we learn unselfishness, and we have the pleasure and joy and fun of doing so."

There had been many thoughtful studies, and some scientific analyses, during the three days. But this brief observation, which the reporter caught and included in the Transactions, had in it the insights that would come only to a wife and mother. The speaker, we found out later, was Mrs. A. F. W. Plumptre. She is the new President of the Vanier Institute of the Family – a charming Toronto housewife, and a distinguished economist in the social field.

Man is important in his own way but there is no substitute for the vital rôle that woman must play in the successful home life of a nation. She holds, for us, the keys to happiness. She has the inborn gift of understanding – the understanding of so many things that cannot be catalogued nor converted into a science. Man has his essential job in the family too. But enough of that! My prologue grows too long.

Wisdom and the Mind of Man

There is a science of almost everything. Professor J. Tuzo Wilson of Toronto has made a science of the earth under our feet and its progressive change. He was one of those, at the Montebello Conference in 1963, who gave the creators of "Expo 67" the theme of their presentation. It was called "Terre des Hommes". The English rendering, "Man and His World", puts the emphasis where it should be placed, on the word "Man".

Helen Hogg, Professor of Astronomy in the University of Toronto, has pointed out that "astronomers at present cannot point to any other place in the whole universe which has conditions as favourable" as are to be found on this planet, parts of it, she says, "flowing with milk and honey".* This may suggest Ontario, not Labrador, certainly.

*Man and His World – Terre des Hommes. The Noranda Lectures Expo 67. University of Toronto Press, 1968.

Who would prefer the moon, where the temperature varies 500 degrees Fahrenheit during the swing from the two weeks of day to the two weeks of night. Who would fancy Mars where the air at the surface is as rare as our atmosphere 100,000 feet above the earth, or Venus at 600° Fahrenheit, or Mercury where the sun is ten times as hot as here and each day lasts a month, or great Jupiter where the enormous pull of gravity makes locomotion difficult, where all the water is frozen and the atmosphere is composed of noxious gases.

There is, so they say, only one universe. But it contains many solar systems like ours. Satellites, that could perhaps be like the earth, cluster about many of the stars one sees at night. They are not fixed, but seem to be going somewhere like our solar system. Some move outward, causing the universe to expand. If this is an "expanding universe", you and I might wonder: "Into what, does it expand?"

But no one can answer that, and we are left to muse. Is it the end of the infinitely large or, perhaps, the beginning of infinity? God knows!

It was indeed a surprise, at Christmas time, to hear one of those three admirable American astronauts, in outer space, read from the Bible the story of the creation – and fitting, too. What a story! and what an audience! The recent discoveries of geologists, biologists and astronomers show this story of the six-day creation to be the most important piece of historical fiction ever written and, if understood, amazingly accurate.

And the story of the Garden of Eden, which follows, presents the rules of family morality as they have been established over and over again by man and woman ever since civilization had its beginning in cave and tent and urban house. Included in that plot is the discovery (and it is a discovery that science could not have made) the discovery that there is a right and a wrong, a ban on murder, the meaning of loyalty and love and, finally, a vigorous statement of the lot of mankind: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken."

How else could the perceptive writers of the scriptures present their meaning to the ordinary people who lived in Ur of the Chaldees or wandered through the deserts and the pastures of Mesopotamia?

The brain of man was just as good an instrument then as it is today. That is clear enough. The mind of man was obviously capable of penetrating insight and reasonable inference. All they lacked was accumulated knowledge.

If these writers were inspired, then inspiration must still be possible. And many men believe that it is. Like discovery in science, I suspect that inspiration comes only to the prepared mind.

It is possible, even probable, that life on other cooling spheres has emerged there too, in the water and on the land. It is possible that they have days and nights like ours. Time, that is as long as our time, may well have elapsed. Thus, by means of survival of the fittest, evolution on those spheres may well have created beings much like us. No doubt, they could learn to talk with us and we with them if they could visit us or we them.

And if, on any of those planets in outer space, our cousins have emerged as a master race, one can predict something with relative certainty.

My prediction is that each has a brain. If they think and understand and decide and communicate, they must, it seems to me, have brains that are like our own. Whatever their style of beauty may be, and however they may walk and fly and swim and manipulate the things we use ten fingers for, they must have a brain that hums with neuronal activity.

This is what makes the conscious mind possible. But that is not to say that the brain of man creates the mind. A mind appears – and, as Aristotle expressed it 2,000 years ago, the mind is attached to the body. It goes about with man, you might say, although it seems to be without material substance. One may assume as well, of course, that other creatures, endowed with a brain, have minds too.

At times the mind seems to direct the brain and, through it, the body. Electrical activity within the cells and fibres of the brain certainly makes understanding and decision and communication possible. Science shows that, but nothing more than that. Without brain activity, there is no evidence of mind activity.

But, alas, we shall never meet our cousins. As Dr. Hogg points out, "the very nearest of these other eligible planets would be some light-years away and one light-year means approximately six million million miles." No, we are alone. We must think out our own destiny with no hope of otherworldly help or companionship. If we make a mess, it is the end – unless a new race is born.

It may be that the spirit, or mind, of man does indeed communicate with the spirit of God. But to pursue that statement would be to go beyond the intended limits of this talk in which I have allowed myself to wander through heaven and earth. As Georges Vanier remarked to me once, "We do not have to think alike when it comes to religion."

My intention, as far as religion is concerned, is to point out one thing only: Science does not contradict, nor does it throw any light on religion. Religion has to do with the things of the spirit. Science has to do with the brain, the body and the material universe.

The material elements and the basic laws of nature, we have reason to assume, are the same throughout the universe. But here on earth, there are fields of scientific exploration that are just as vast as those in the cosmology of outer space, for they embrace the infinitely small. In this sense, the brain too is vast and its secrets most important to man.

We have learned that there are in each living human cerebrum electrical currents passing in changing patterns along many millions of insulated wire-like fibres. This constitutes action in the brain and, as I have said, this brain-action makes awareness, reason, understanding and decision possible. These things constitute the activity of the mind. Thus we have come to the *great frontier* between mind and brain. This is a simplified statement and there is danger of over-simplification. But I shall not complicate or amplify it.

If it interests you, I might express the apparent interaction of mind and brain in another way.

Consider a child growing to manhood or womanhood: From the early months of life, something from within each individual seems to direct and focus attention at will, and sometimes with stubborn intent. This continues from time to time all through life. As long as attention is being focussed, the brain is being conditioned. The mind, then, seems to select what the brain is to remember, record or use in later action. The mind conditions its own brain somewhat as a technician conditions a computer.

The actions, that of brain and that of mind, correspond in time and to some degree in content. And the one makes a record of the other. This can be demonstrated, from my own experience, as follows: When the brain of a conscious patient is exposed at operation under local anaesthesia, an electrode applied to certain areas of the cortex sometimes causes the stream of previous consciousness to flow again. It brings former conscious experience back, exactly as in some previous interval of time, except that the patient retains his present awareness as well.

He listens to complicated music or hears and sees his friends talking and laughing. This exact recall of previous experience throws light on one aspect of memory, but it does not explain the original conscious state.

The two activities of mind and brain, then, correspond in time. Science shows us that, but it can do no more. It has not explained the spirit of man. Not yet. Perhaps it never will.

Mind, and the word "spirit" that is used so often in places of worship, mean, I suppose, the same thing. I shall not, as I have said, discuss religion. But as my purpose is to consider human wisdom, we must, at least, skirt religion. I might say, then – it is my impression that there are at least as many who believe in God, and make some personal use of the belief, among the men of science as among non-scientists – in proportion to their relative number, of course.

There is urgent need for us to see man and his world in clearer perspective. Instead there is on earth a vast confusion of thought. The complete fundamentalists of yesterday are mostly dead. But many believe sincerely that science threatens belief in God and the possibility of continuing inspiration. They feel that to alter their own understanding of myth and story will lead to loss of moral code and family loyalty and all the accumulated wisdom of the Bible and other conclusions of the past, written and unwritten. These people stand fast but they are confused.

Others are angry that the conservatives cannot face the facts of science. Angry ones see no angels in outer space, they learn that Darwin was right. They think that there is no God, the Bible is absurd, man has no spirit, only a brain mechanism which amounts to a portable computer. This computer was programmed before he came into the world, programmed in what men call a "genetic code". They adopt the faith of the materialists. Materialists believe blindly in science. They repeat, as though it were proven, the statement that the material and the mechanical explain all things. But all the while, the mind of the materialist goes unexplained.

An honest scientist realizes that some understanding of material structure has come to man, along with comprehension of the forces that operate through that structure. This earth of ours is not the physical centre, as man supposed once upon a time. But in a certain sense, it is the centre of the universe. It is the "place of understanding".

Like the astronauts, you and I might turn back 3,000 years. We might read, with profit, the thoughts of other men who wondered as we do:

> "Surely there is a vein for the silver, and a place for gold where they fine it.
> Iron is taken out of the earth, and brass is molten out of the stone . . .
> But where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of understanding?"

These questions, asked by the writer of Job, must be answered now. The time is short. Wisdom, I fear, is not to be found in science. No planned experiment will point the way for us. Wisdom does not change. Like inspiration and discovery, wisdom comes to the prepared mind. But she must be wooed and waited for.

She is as old as creation, and yet it is to man that she would speak:

> "I wisdom dwell with prudence . . .
> When there were no depths, I was brought forth;
> When he prepared the heavens, I was there: . . . rejoicing always before him . . .
> Rejoicing in the habitable parts of his earth; and my delights were with the sons of men . . .
> For who so findeth me findeth life . . .
> Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars."*

Man, seen in long perspective, is the master of life and of understanding on this remarkable planet. His creation may have required a very long period, but his civilization is of short duration and there is, in it today, a frightening crescendo of change. The tribes of men have become mighty nations. Some of them watch each other in fear and distrust. Their leaders hold the poised weapons of ultimate human destruction. Thus, man is faced by man, while the fate of the human race is in the balance. Let "wisdom cry and understanding put forth her voice!"

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*From Proverbs, 8 and 9.

Vanier Institute

Any thoughtful, thorough-going effort to help man control civilization must be given high priority in public affairs. There is such a project in the making at present in Canada. It will strengthen "the moral fibre of the nation". It is unique. It is not a religious project, being planned for men and women of all faiths and for those of none. It is not another welfare effort. The well-to-do need what it can give as much as the destitute.

In June 1964, General Georges P. Vanier opened the Canadian Conference on the Family and spoke to the delegates.

> "The future is in our hands," he said. "It is up to us to direct the course of civilization. . . . The amazing development of economics and material civilization has brought a crisis upon the family. It is time for men with serious responsibilities in society to take stock together of the problem facing us."

He and Madame Vanier had known a deepening concern for the people of Canada during the four years that followed his appointment as Governor-General. Consequently, with the help of a group of citizens who learned to share his concern, he had called this Conference, hoping to draw from many minds the whispering of wisdom that would point the way to wise action.

He was a man of clear vision and deep conviction, our Governor-General. He spoke as only a great leader can, with the thrilling assurance of inspiration. Although deeply religious, he was completely open-minded. His gay sense of humour made him a good friend and an excellent companion – withal a simple man despite his brilliant and heroic life's achievement.

A year after the Conference an institution, planned for research as well as action, was born – The Vanier Institute of the Family – l'Institut Vanier de la Famille.

After what seemed to us a long year of waiting, Prime

Minister Lester Pearson pledged federal help to create the required endowment. This "reflects," he said, "the Government's concern that the aims of the Institute be realized – the strengthening of family life in Canada as the basis on which our nation's moral strength and vitality depend."

The Institute, on its part, reserving its independence of action at all times, asked for the privilege of making an annual report to Parliament and thus, through Parliament, to the people of Canada. It asked also that the Prime Minister should nominate four members to the twenty-member Board of Directors.

General Vanier was pleased when the Institute was named for him. He had advised and befriended the founders and organizers. And yet, even up to his death in March of 1967, he never ventured an opinion as to *how* the Institute should carry out the job. Instead, he pointed only to the strategic approach, the unit that called for reinforcement – the family of man.

> "This is not," he said, "a nebulous ivory-tower endeavour. . . . I appeal urgently to Canadians everywhere to recognize the pressing necessity of strengthening the family structure."

The decision of the founders was to use the methods and the organization that have been so successful in the field of applied science and medicine. To establish, therefore, an institute for research and action. Like an institute in the field of preventive medicine, the Vanier Institute has entered the field of education. They have begun already to convey to the Canadian people information and recommendations that will help families to help themselves.

Education that is worth anything continues through adult life and many things are best learned at home from cradle to grave, including love, morals, self-discipline, culture, service to others. In the normal healthy home, there are things that all should learn and the Vanier Institute will promote all forms of education that make the society of man better, happier, safer.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the acceleration of change in human society is, in large part, the end result of scientific innovation which sometimes, but not always, deserves to be called advance. In the amazing expansion of our scientific knowledge, there has been no proven contradiction of spiritual values, no valid opposition between science, on the one hand, and the basic concepts of morality in human society and man's belief in the spirit of man or God, on the other.

To discover wisdom in human affairs, we must turn to the best elaborations of human thought. They come from the past and the present. Scientific method may be of great help. But in the end truth is to be found in the minds of men.

The materialist assertion that the brain and its mechanisms explain the mind is an unproven hypothesis. It is, if you like, a matter of faith like the assumptions of the Christian Church and the other religions.

The time has come when man must control the course of civilization on this earth. But the time is short, the need for action urgent. Human society cannot survive without the institution of the family. By bringing strength and wisdom to new families in the ever-changing context of modern society and by establishing an accepted code of common morality and teaching reasonable self-discipline and service to others, civilization can be controlled.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Dr. Murray G. Ross.

JANUARY 23, 1969

Something About Nova Scotia

AN ADDRESS BY Lt.-Col. the Hon. G. I. Smith,
M.B.E., E.D., Q.C.
PREMIER OF NOVA SCOTIA

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

New Scotland, or Nova Scotia, has reasons to claim seniority among all provinces of Canada. Although it is among the smaller in area and population, it is one of the richest in history, in strategic importance throughout the wars of the past two or three centuries, in the leadership it has provided from its earliest days down to Robert Stanfield, in its priceless contribution of men and women who have done so much to make Canada – and even Toronto – what they are today.

There's a new look in Nova Scotia as of this year of 1969, and part of that new look is the hard-working man in historic Province House, the latest in a long line of distinguished Premiers who have been known for their national service as well as provincial leadership, Lt.-Col. the Honourable George Isaac Smith, M.B.E., E.D., Q.C.

Born in Stewiacke, he was educated at Colchester Academy and Dalhousie Law School and practised law at Truro until 1939. But he also had 18 years of zealous service in the N.P.A.M., following which he served with great distinction in World War II, with the North Nova Scotia Highlanders and various headquarter staffs, and (among other things) was mentioned in despatches.

He was first elected to the Legislature in 1949, joined the Cabinet in 1956, and succeeded Mr. Stanfield as Premier exactly 11 years later. We welcome here today the illustrous and gallant Premier of an illustrous and gallant province, Mr. Smith.

MR. SMITH:

Mr. Chairman: I should like to begin by expressing my appreciation of the honour extended to me in asking me to speak to this distinguished gathering of Canadians.

Your club has occupied a place of distinction for a long time. The list of great men who have spoken to your meetings is a very long and impressive one. To be invited to follow in their footsteps is a privilege indeed. I thank you for it and add the hope your members will not regret your generosity.

Many of my old friends from other days and other activities, as well of those of later vintage and more contemporary fields of endeavour, live in Toronto. Some of them I see are here today. To them I offer a special word of greeting and good cheer.

On an occasion like this it is not easy for the speaker to know what subjects might interest his audience. In these days when politics and government activities, at all levels, seem to penetrate into nearly every major activity of our business and personal lives, perhaps a dissertation on the philosophy of government might be in order. Or, here in the heartland of Canada, where the first modern, general discussion of our constitution began in November 1967 it might be appropriate to talk about our country's constitutional questions which are for many so lively a concern just now. Or, perhaps it would be a suitable occasion on which to draw attention to the uneven degree of economic and industrial development between the different regions of Canada.

Well, important and interesting though such subjects are, I finally decided to talk to you about Nova Scotia. I reached this decision not only because it is a subject I like to talk about, but because I thought you might consider it worthwhile to spend a little time listening to some views about Nova Scotia of a more positive nature than some Canadians are inclined to express.

It is a fact, of course, that our degree of economic and industrial development is only about 75 per cent of the Canadian average, and a still smaller percentage of that achieved by your great and growing province – a province which takes the lead in Canada in so many ways. Not the least of these ways is its concern for the national interest of Canada.

It is also true that in putting forward the claims we consider just and reasonable in order to help our citizens attain a standard of living and public services nearer the Canadian average, we must of necessity draw attention to our difficulties and deficiencies. In doing so, we run the risk – we think unavoidably – of encouraging those who think we are a backward province of little opportunity. And some do, you know, even in Toronto.

Some tend to look at us rather as a poor part of the country, to be maintained for the benefit of Canadian geography and national security, and as a market for their products.

Perhaps you will not be surprised if I tell you that we Nova Scotians do not take that view at all. On the contrary, we have a deep rooted pride in our province and in ourselves. We have great pride too in Canada, and in the part Nova Scotia played in helping to create our country.

Perhaps here I might pause to say that we are the only province in which a general election was run on the issue of separating from Canada. It may be of interest to remember the separatists won a clear cut victory – but soon found it was easier to talk about going it alone than it was to take the risk of doing so.

And now let me turn to talk of some of the developments in Nova Scotia, actual and potential, of a positive nature. As I do so I do not forget our problems, our difficulties, nor do I ask you to. But I do ask you to remember as well the good things, to remember there are opportunities for industrial investment, to remember we are worth thinking about as a province with a future.

We are now passing through the mid-stages of transition, from an economy mainly based on our fields, our forests, our mines, and our fisheries to one of industrialization and of transition, from rural to urban life.

In this province, of course, you passed these mid-stages some time ago.

Our annual manufacturing shipments far outweigh the value of our traditional resource industries of fishing, farming, mining and forestry, though these remain very important to us.

As evidence of this transition let me cite the growth of what we call, perhaps a little grandly, Metropolitan Halifax. This is the area immediately adjacent to Halifax Harbour. It now has a population of just over 225,000. In the last sixteen years it has grown about 40%. Though this is modest both in size and rate of growth when measured against some places in Canada, it is nevertheless substantial. It puts Metropolitan Halifax in the same order of size as Windsor, London and Kitchener, and in a somewhat larger class than Victoria and Regina.

The area includes the newly enlarged City of Halifax with a population of 126,000; the City of Dartmouth directly across the harbour with 59,000, and their cluster of suburbs, most of them joining the two cities around the harbour's end, with 40,000.

To those of you who knew Halifax a few years ago, but who have not been there recently, I say you would have real difficulty in recognizing the city today.

New high rise office buildings and apartment blocks are altering its historic face and skyline. Expansion of universities, new museums, new galleries, the success of Neptune Theatre, are changing the cultural scene.

In Metropolitan Halifax we now have one of the largest concentrations of scientists in Canada. These are found in the universities (including the Nova Scotia Technical College), in a branch of the National Research Council, in the Bedford Oceanographic Institute, in the Research Foundation of Nova Scotia and in sophisticated private industry. Our professional schools, particularly in law and medicine, are among the best to be found.

The mood and appearance of Metropolitan Halifax are becoming more cosmopolitan, more contemporary and urban. A large part of the downtown core of the old city is being replaced with a $50,000,000 complex of modern new buildings rising beside the grand old city hall. Called Scotia Square, the new development now under construction will provide new integrated shopping malls, office towers, apartment buildings, a hotel, theatre, and the large trade mart which is already in operation. One of the largest urban developments of this kind in Canada, it is being built by a group of Nova Scotia businessmen. To help envisage the scope of this development let me say that when completed it will have a larger square foot area than Place Ville Marie.

It is an interesting commentary that the Nova Scotian developers had to turn to United States sources for the non-equity financing, though a recent equity issue in Canada was well received. I pose the question, though I do not answer it – "Was this because of a lack of interest in Nova Scotia on the part of major Canadian financial institutions?"

But development is not confined to the Halifax area. It can be found in each region of the province.

Something which we think stands comparison with anything happening in Canada is taking place at the Strait of Canso, which separates Cape Breton Island from the mainland. A side effect of the Causeway built across the Strait in the 1950s, was that it shut out winter ice, creating a huge year-round harbour 10 miles long and a mile wide, with the deepest water of any Atlantic harbour in the Americas.

A $200,000,000 industrial buildup is underway on the Strait. This includes a big Swedish-owned pulp plant already in operation, the shipping facilities of Georgia Pacific Corporation, a new thermal power plant, the heavy water plant of Canadian General Electric Limited, and a new Gulf Oil refinery of 60,000 barrels a day initial capacity with capacity for 80,000 barrels being built into some parts of it. There is reason to hope it will produce feedstock which will attract petro-chemical industries to the site. I am told that within a year the biggest ships ever to enter a Canadian port – supertankers of over 200,000 tons – will begin sailings to this new superport, and later the 300,000 ton superships which are the largest moving things in the modern world will regularly dock at a new $7,000,000 pier in Canso Strait.

To accommodate additional heavy industries in the same area the government of Nova Scotia is developing an 8,000 acre heavy industrial park on the Strait at Point Tupper.

Of course, our first superport is Halifax. The historic warden of the North Atlantic whose tall sailing ships once dominated a good part of ocean commerce, and which in the great wars sent thousands of troop and merchant ships in the perilous convoys overseas, for the past two years has regularly berthed the fully-loaded 110,000 ton supertanker, *Imperial Ottawa*, Canada's largest ship to date.

And the great depth of Halifax harbour which has made it the nation's first superport, is expected to be an important factor in the future development of container shipping through Halifax.

The establishment of Halifax as a container port is very important to Nova Scotia and to Canada.

Tightly scheduled to connect with trans-Atlantic container ship sailings, the total system is expected to provide a weekly trans-Atlantic container freight service into the eastern half of this continent which will be faster and cheaper than the St. Lawrence Seaway and which will operate steadily the year round. It is reasonable to hope this service may well, in due course, extend across the continent to Vancouver.

The service is scheduled to begin in mid 1969 using temporary waterfront facilities until a new $10,000,000 container pier opens next year. An international shipping consortium comprising British, Belgian and Canadian interests will begin operating a year-round trans-Atlantic container ship schedule out of this port in July.

There is every reason to believe this service will be followed by others.

As you may know, the container is the key to the vast new technology of freight transportation. Nova Scotians see the rapid development of Halifax as a major Atlantic container port and important step toward becoming one of the principal North American gateways for world trade. And when the Canadian "landbridge" linking Europe through North America with Japan and other Asian countries is realized, the container port of Halifax should be one of its main routes.

With containerization, our ancient port anticipates not only new shipping but an important buildup of attendant port-oriented business and industry. It will also have the advantage of reliable, regular transport connections and possibly better export freight rates for industries located in Nova Scotia. The growth of primary and secondary industry in Nova Scotia is substantial. More than $80,000,000 worth of manufactured products were made in Nova Scotia last year by the new industries which our crown development corporation, Industrial Estates Limited, has attracted to this province and the expansions of existing plant facilities it has helped finance.

In the 10 years since IEL attracted its first successful new plant to the province, it has helped bring Nova Scotia 60 new manufacturing industries and expansions of existing plants in 34 separate communities, creating direct employment for over 4,600 persons. Canadian economists estimate that this volume of direct employment generates about 5,500 additional jobs in service and other industries, which means about 10,000 new jobs altogether. The annual payroll for the plants assisted by the corporation is now about $18,500,000.

I will not ask you to listen to me enumerate the individual enterprises. But I would like to refer to some of them to indicate the world wide interest in coming to Nova Scotia. There is a textile plant from Italy, automobile assembly plants from Sweden and Japan, a hardboard factory from India, a plastic container plant from Austria, a carpet factory owned by United Kingdom and United States interests, a textile plant from Italy, a textile factory from the Netherlands, a manufacturer of Irish moss products from Denmark and a wide variety of factories from the United States.

Of recent new industries not receiving assistance from Industrial Estates, examples are a $5,000,000 fish plant at Canso run by United Kingdom interests, and a new fish processing plant at Yarmouth now being established by a West German Corporation.

I cannot let the occasion go by without some reference to the steel plant at Sydney. For a long time this has been one of the mainstays of Nova Scotia industrial life. Most of you will be aware that in October 1967 Hawker Siddley (Canada) Limited, then the owners of the controlling interest through Dominion Steel & Coal Company Limited, announced the plant would close because of the heavy losses being suffered.

At that time about 3200 people were employed there. Closing would have been a catastrophe to Cape Breton and scarcely less of a blow to the province.

The provincial government began negotiations with Hawker Siddley designed to keep the plant in operation long enough to work out either a way to ensure continued operation or orderly closing over a period of time. The negotiations were not successful. The government decided there was no alternative but to acquire the whole plant. This was done, by agreement with the owners.

A Crown Corporation called Sydney Steel Corporation was formed and took over the operation as of 1 January 1968. A leading Nova Scotian industrialist, Mr. R. B. Cameron, agreed to become the Chief Executive Officer. By the end of 1968, he was able to report a record annual production and a profit of two and a half million dollars. He was also able to predict with confidence that 1969 would be even better, and to announce his belief that performance would justify a fifty million dollar modernization programme beginning in 1969 and to be completed in 5 years. He emphasized, however, that this programme would only take place if performance justified it.

I want to make it perfectly clear that the two and a half million dollar profit is one arrived at by applying the same accounting practices as are applied to any private enterprise. It is a straightforward operating profit after proper allowance for financing expenses, depreciation, municipal taxes and all other proper deductions.

Its importance to the whole economy of the province is of the first magnitude. Its progress in 1968 has completely changed the economic outlook of Cape Breton.

We are, of course, not out of the woods yet, but certainly the future for Sydney now looks better than it has for some years.

Well, I've told you "Something about Nova Scotia" as I see it. I thank you for listening to me, and hope that in some way I have stirred your interest in us as a place where opportunities exist, as a place with a future.

May I close by saying again we are proud of being Nova Scotians. We are just as proud of being Canadians. We recognize the wide diversities which exist in Canada – diversities of geography, of language and culture, of economic development. But we recognize, too, the immensely strong common interests which tend to bind us together. With good will and understanding among all Canadians, and the desire to make the best of the wonderful things we share together, we are confident the strength of our common interests will help us to accommodate our diversities and will ensure for Canada and Canadians that bright future which lies within our grasp if we will make up our minds to reach it.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. R. H. Hilborn.

JANUARY 30, 1969

Can Canada Have An Independent Foreign Policy?

AN ADDRESS BY Dean Maxwell Cohen,
DEAN OF LAW AT MCGILL UNIVERSITY

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

Benjamin Disraeli once advised the British House of Commons that a university should be a place of light, of liberty, and of learning. How much light – how much liberty – and how much learning? These have always been matters of opinion, and sometimes controversy.

In recent times, however, and notably since Roosevelt became President and Churchill Prime Minister, the academic community has been called on, repeatedly and increasingly, to advise or assist or participate in the practice of statesmanship and government: in other words, public service outside or above and beyond the call of duty within the peaceful, uneventful, cloistered ivy-covered walls of a university.

Dean Maxwell Cohen, Q.C., our distinguished and versatile guest today, is an example. Since 1964 he has been Dean of the Law School at McGill University, which now includes both great streams of our jurisprudence – both the civil law and the common law derived and developing from French and Anglo-American sources.

Apart from a long and brilliant academic career – begun at the Universities of Manitoba and Harvard – he has served from time to time with the Combines Investigation Commission of 1938, with the Department of Munitions and Supply under C. D. Howe, with the Canadian Army and Defence Headquarters as a Major, at the United Nations both as a Canadian delegate and with its Technical Assistance Administration. He has frequently acted as a Commissioner and adviser of the federal government on special problems. He is a leading member of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. He has given much thought to the topic on which he will speak to you today, one which is under general review and is widely and anxiously discussed: Can Canada have an independent foreign policy? Dean Cohen.

MR. COHEN:

Mr. President, my lords, deans, Mr. ex-Dean, Gentlemen: I am delighted to be here. And I think my first duty is to express my own sense of loss at the passing of Wallace McCutcheon. I knew him very well over a long period of time. He was a strong supporter of a number of things in which we were both involved, notably the bi-annual McGill Conference on industry and government, which he attended regularly and gave his full intellectual and personal support to.

But he was also a very rare mixture of a man who was able to move from law to business and yet retain a certain professional detachment about the things he was doing.

I will always recall the kind of air with which he surrounded his sojourn in the business world. It was not just a businessman's air – and I use that in no derogatory sense. He was able to rise above the day-to-day demands of the business community and see it in that impartial way which his initial professional training perhaps had helped him to do.

So I too wish to add my word to the passing of this very distinguished Toronto and Canadian figure.

When you were kind enough to invite me here, Mr. President, you also sent me a frightening document. It was the list of your 1,600 speakers you had in the past 60 or 70 or 80 years. Among them were people of high rank; very few of low rank. I didn't know where quite I fitted in that spectrum of history.

But I felt I was really at home. I was for a number of years the President of the Royal Commonwealth Society in Montreal. If you can survive the presidency of the Royal Commonwealth Society in the present Montreal environment, not entirely sympathetic to either title or content, you can certainly come to The Empire Club of Toronto with a feeling that you have been through it once before.

Indeed the courage with which you are retaining your title I think is a tribute to the stamina and historical perspective of the organization.

I am glad, as perhaps your President indicated, to leave academic life for a day. It is not quite as Disraeli described it one hundred years ago or so. Recently I was reflecting on the difference between academic life and public life, and I came to the innocent conclusion that in public life the knives come at you from the front.

The whole theory of the New Left, which is occupying so much of our time, I think was beautifully epitomized in a phrase of that remarkably longshoreman philosopher Eric Hoffer the other night, when he said that whatever may have been the contribution of Louis the Fourteenth to the cliches of western thought – one of them being "Apres moi le deluge," the motto of the New Left seems to be "Apres le deluge-moi."

And I suspect that there is a great deal to that particular concept. And leaving Montreal in the last 24 hours to the natural quiet and stability of Toronto seems to me re-opens the door to the mood and the image I once had of academic life.

Though I must say to wake up in the morning and discover that our Drapeau is at half mast, with "man no longer of his world," was not the easiest way to face this difficult day.

Nevertheless, since I almost practised law in Toronto, and since I now am the Dean at a law school that is accredited to the Law Society of Upper Canada – with my old friend the Treasurer here, who helped usher in that day for us – I can always feel that asylum awaits me across the Ottawa River if need ever arises.

Mind you, I am one of those who have an abiding faith in the continuity of both this country and the commonsense which underlies the vast majority of its people.

If you detect in me a slight mood of pessimism, it has nothing to do with the federal system of Canada; it has nothing to do with my belief in Canadian viability. It is only whether I can stand another year or two of what I have been going through lately.

Mr. President, you suggested that I might come down and speak to The Empire Club on a subject perhaps that had not been discussed too often before – foreign policy. Foreign policy is a very fashionable subject. People can make reputations on not too much substance. We are hearing debates now between ideas and "postmaster-generalities."

The truth is that I think one can in fact say that there is hardly a field in which public opinion of varying degrees of competence feels readier for a judgment than foreign policy. How easy it is really to have a strong view on Viet Nam 9,000 miles away from one's personal knowledge and observation. How attractive it is to be able to sit back and say, "This is what we ought to be doing in Biafra," because none of us has been there and really bear no responsibility for the consequences.

How easy it is to say that the attitude of NATO in the communique on the entrance of the Russians into Czechoslovakia shows a "hawkish" mood which obviously indicates that NATO is being misled by some hoax and therefore Canada should have no part in it; and we sitting here in

Toronto and Montreal really can judge these things with the merit of detachment and distance.

There is about foreign policy therefore a great attractiveness, simply because – and I say this with, I hope, declining cynicism – because the truth is that one can have very large judgments about things that are far away. And in a sense this is a good thing to recognize, that one does have very large judgments about remote events. But one must be sufficiently humble about them to at least recognize that what you are judging are materials and history and data about which one can really have very little knowledge at a distance, without also a high degree of personal involvement, and justifying only a limited range of viable opinions.

Let me suggest another element in foreign policy discussions too that is somewhat disturbing. We forget perhaps the strength and unconscious penetration, or inter-penetration, between domestic policy and foreign policy.

Let me give you two simple Canadian illustrations. The whole attitude of Canada toward France and toward the French-speaking community throughout the world is vitally being influenced by the bicultural debate. There can be no doubt that were it not for the peculiar relationship of the bicultural debate as to how we see Canada in the bicultural future, we would have a quite different view of DeGaulle's interest in Canada, of Canada's interest in the French-speaking, 150,000,000 community, of the world.

So if ever one wanted to see the direct penetration between a domestic problem strictly so-called and the movement of our international interests, one can see it right before our very eyes in the evolving new Canadian policy towards the international French-speaking community.

One sees it, of course, more directly in economic matters, with which we are more familiar: the entire debate over the future of the wheat economy, the conception of a Canadian interest in a North Atlantic free trade organization, with all of its quasi-federal political overtones perhaps; the attitude we take toward our competitive position and what it means as we encourage or discourage foreign investment; its effects on our commercial policy – all of these – and in turn the effects of our commercial policy on our trading partners in Japan and Europe and the United States and their independent relationship with us – make really the evolution of domestic policy and foreign policy almost a single network. And it is virtually impossible in some areas now to have a domestic policy so-called without being internationally-minded, or an international policy without being totally conscious of the domestic, political and economic implications.

Finally, on foreign policy in general, let me say that there are some very large issues where I think the Canadian voice and the Canadian impact is not readily detectable where one might hope to have some direct Canadian influence.

For example, let me say that the question of "poverty" is global. And we shall see in a moment, that the Canadian impact upon global poverty is virtually marginal, whatever we do. Equally, the Canadian interest in the whole movement throughout the world toward a higher level of human rights achievement towards an improved social environment in the developing countries of the world – what is the direct impact we can make by specific Canadian policies either bilaterally or multi-laterally through the various agencies of which we are members?

We must therefore begin by examining with some realism the areas where we have an influence, the arenas where we can have an impact, and those where we cannot.

And so I would like to look for a moment at what I might call the "great issues" and Canada's freedom to choose among them.

Do we really have much scope for choice, considering these issues and their scope?

Now, before one can look at the great issues, I suggest it might be worthwhile to outline a new modern world image, that we all share as members of western, Canadian society, and that seems to be evolving in our own time.

What is the new World image emerging about us? What are the components out of which the specific issues of foreign policy, great and small, tend to be related and emerge from them? Well, may I suggest a few of elements in the modern world image that is developing before our very eyes.

I think, first of all, the life styles of all of us, all over the world, are being challenged by the young, and sometimes by the not-so-young. There is a vast area of international malaise, of peculiar dissatisfaction, in affluent societies as well as a non-affluent, among affluent families and non-affluent families. Something has gripped the human imagination, the human psyche, to make for a continuing emergence of evidence that there is dissatisfaction with our life styles.

I don't know quite what this means. I not only know it as an objective fact evident from student unrest in so many parts of the world, but also student unrest in so many parts of the world, but also as a total image somehow or other of the emergence of instability as almost a chronic characteristic of our time.

Secondly, I think there is the sense, to use Marshall McLuhan's phrase, that we somehow are being reduced and have been reduced to a "global village" because of the impact of communications on each other.

The very image of a central African native carrying his transistor radio set around with him in the village as he listens to broadcasts near and far makes of the sense of distance something quite different than it was a generation ago. The television screen carrying the burning of a village in Viet Nam, or a refugee problem in the Middle East, or an equally harassing event elsewhere, brings home at once, it seems to me, a sense of what Marshall McLuhan thinks when he uses a phrase that is so protean as "global village."

Certainly it means a degree of empathy or possible empathy, a degree of communication that no one could have foreseen a generation ago. And this must have an impact upon policies, must have some impact upon domestic public opinion everywhere where that impact is felt.

A third element in the development of a new world view, of course, is the problem so universally felt of the city, its rise and its decline. From Calcutta to Montreal to Buenos Aires to Rio and New York something has happened to the intensity and complexity of city life. They all seem to be facing problems similar in structural character if not in detail: the problem of accommodating and making life livable for the millions who come together in cities which are both the glory and the terror of so much of modern life.

How to reconcile the advantages of the great city with all of the headaches they seem to pose for modern government surely is one of the great global issues that have restructured so much of our thinking. And indeed it is extraordinary to contemplate that the great bulk of humanity, now moving toward three and a half billions of people, are now to be seen not on great plains, not on the land, but in the growing cities and towns of the world.

What this does to the style of life; what this does to the organization of government; what this does to international understanding of similar structural, governmental problems, because they share so much in common, has yet to be fully understood.

But it is re-shaping much of our thinking, almost unconsciously, so that the city dweller in Africa or the city dweller in Canada have, because of city life, a difficulty in common which, together with the global village and other communication aspects, are restructuring thought and bringing a degree of trans-national uniformity one could not have seen again a generation ago.

The impact of science or technology is part of this. Mankind is almost being homogenized by communication and technology. And with it there comes – to use Adlai Stevenson's now classic phrase – the revolution of rising expectations.

And so the combination of tele-communications, the nature of the city, science and technology and its impact, and the revolution of rising expectations, are all involved with each other and are changing the whole image with which we see ourselves and the world around us.

Indeed one of the ironies of the revolution of rising expectations is that although it was used by Adlai Stevenson as a phrase to describe the developing countries, it has just as much relevance at home. It is equally a revolution in our own society.

One has only to hear the dialogue of the young students in the new post-secondary colleges in Quebec to see that they have rising expectations and are saying that Quebec and Canada are not planning for those rising expectations. "Where will be the jobs for us?" "What is society doing to give us a chance to share in the rising gross national product which characterizes Canada as the second, or third, or fourth most affluent society per capita on the globe?"

And so the concept of rising expectations has both its domestic and its international aspect. And they inter-penetrate with each other and cause a revolution too in our self-image and our world view.

The inter-penetration of the world economy seems to me to be going on in a way which one could not wholly have foreseen for the intensity as it now offers. We always have understood the international aspect of economic life, but when one takes for granted that balance of payments questions in Germany can immediately have the impact they do on domestic interest rates in Canada, and therefore on housing in Canada, and therefore on what appear to be the most urgent domestic concerns, we are slowly being educated into the inter-penetration of economic activity in a way which we may have understood on the surface a generation ago, but never knew with the sense of immediacy we are feeling today.

The permanence of terror in the world. Here we are over almost 24 years since the first atom bomb was exploded over Nagasaki and Hiroshima; and are we any closer to a resolution of that fundamental problem? We, almost, in the other cares of the moment forget the extraordinary degree of over-kill that now exists in the hands of the USSR and the USA, and the rising capacity for thermo-nuclear destruction that appears in the policies and the achievements of mainland China.

And yet here surely, if anything, ought to be the dominating concern of mankind. It ought to be, but what can we do about the permanence of terror that could annihilate in the space of 15 or 20 minutes perhaps a quarter of mankind, and possibly the most productive part of mankind in the northern hemisphere. And yet somehow we seem to have accommodated psychologically, accommodated politically to that balance of terror, hopefully expecting the great powers, the super powers, to come up with some answers, but meanwhile going about the enormous complexity of other business in the hope that this fear will not intrude to make meaningless all other exercises.

The new acceptance of violence seems to me to be another element of an international character changing the image we have of mankind. Not that we accept violence in the sense that war itself is to be always an immediate danger, or that we are prepared to accept thermo-nuclear weapons as a phenomenon we are prepared to live with.

On the contrary, I suppose despite the balance of terror, we are hopeful of keeping the third world war and its nuclear potential far away as long as mankind's brains can do it.

But violence and the nature of man has now a new respectability. It is as if we had given a secular rationale to the doctrine of original sin. It is as if we had said to ourselves in the new ethology man is part of nature, all nature knows of violence; therefore we must not underestimate the extent to which human aggression is part of the natural inheritance of man.

I am sorry to see the seeping into the private culture of almost everyone the acceptance of the new ethology, the idea that certain styles of life are expressed in "aggression" as part of the natural ritual of existence, and therefore men also will be engaged in "aggression as part of their existence. We soon may take this almost for granted in a subtle way, penetrating our domestic and international political thinking.

And finally as part of the whole image of our contemporary existential experience there is the decline of what I would call the taming forces, the decline of the liberal tradition, the decline of the religious tradition, the decline of even the modest balance between authority and freedom which the nineteenth century bequeathed to us.

Think of the extent to which authority has departed from church, from family, from school, from university. Ask what are the cements that now will hold us together; what are the links; what are the mechanics; what are the new rules of the game to replace the taming influences that for so long seemed to at least provide a framework in which other rules, secular rules, could be worked out.

Something has happened to the working assumption of our time. The great liberal tradition is under attack. Religious tradition clearly is under a cloud. The school, the school teacher, all the viable father images seem now no longer to have their old respectability and acceptability. All of this, it seems to me, provides for a kind of instability to which foreign policy will be related and provides the perspective against which it certainly must be viewed.

Well, now, if that is the New World image, in as optimistic or gloomy a picture as I can create in a few moments, what are the issues which arise from this world image as we come to the 1970s?

I would suggest that the kind of issues which emerge are the following. What can we do, first of all, about nuclear threats and arms control? What can we do about the rising expectations of developing countries? What can we do about the historic accident that most of the developing countries are non-white and the affluent countries of the world are white, and you get this extraordinary mixture therefore of colour (and the gulf of colour) and affluence side by side?

So, as if it were not hard enough to foresee a solution to bridging the gulf between white and non-white, we have to bridge that gulf where it also touches that equally sensitive area that the white minority of this planet are "rich" and the non-white majority are "poor." What are some of the ways in which we may approach that problem?

And what do we do also about a whole series of very specific issues: the Middle East, which at this very moment in time seems so threatening; China, East Asia in general and Viet Nam in particular? What kind of contribution; what kind of thought can we give to the future of Mainland China? What kind of thought should we give to the ultimate resolution of the UN's many problems? What do we do about the future of Germany and Berlin and perhaps of NATO in relation to them?

Much of the recent Canadian debate on foreign policy I think is regrettably concentrated on NATO; although I wish to make it clear that I think it is important, yet it may be disproportionately taking up our attention.

What do we do about the future of USSR's relations to Canada, with a new very special relationship in our sharing of the Arctic Basin? What do we say about the future of Canadian-American relations which, in my opinion, is the transcendent and most important problem we face in the immediate future – how to work a viable, systematic approach to our long-term relations with the United States?

What is our conception of the future of the United Nations, of the Commonwealth? How do we work out a decent relationship with France and the French-speaking communities of the world, now that we are pulled more deeply into it by our own adventure with the new bicultural Canada?

And, finally, do we have really an interest in Latin America sufficient to warrant some serious, new Canadian policy?

Now, I think we can take a look at these various issues and begin to ask some questions about priorities; the things we can do and ought to do and the things we cannot do and perhaps should take a secondary position on. We must, I believe, not be caught between the zeal of pretentiousness and the fatalism of futility.

We must on the one hand feel we can be everywhere, or on the other hand believe we can be nowhere. We have to have, I think, a sensible balanced view of where it is we can be most effective. I have tried to classify these issues in terms of the degrees of potential effectiveness in which we can operate.

Let me classify the first group: issues where Canada can have very little direct effect but perhaps some indirect consequences. I put here nuclear weapons, arms control, the future of Mainland China and its relationship with the rest of the world, the USSR and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and global economic development. On these issues I think we can only have a marginal, indirect effect.

It does not mean we should not expend brains on them. It does not mean we should not spend time on them. I simply hope to give us a sense of proportion as to where our best interests lie and where our best energies and expectations can be applied in the formulation of Canadian foreign policy.

The second group: issues where we may have a more direct impact. Here I would put, clearly, NATO, the United Nations, the future of the Commonwealth, the future of Canadian-Soviet relations on the Arctic basin, the future relations of Canada to France and to the Common Market countries – and to the U.K., of course, as well.

Here, it seems to me, we can have a more direct effect. These are a more recognizable area of manageable problems where we can see some of the consequences of our policy bearing fruit within a reasonable period of time and within reasonable scope.

Thirdly, the area where we could have the most direct consequences; and that is U.S.-Canadian relations. I know of no area where our impact can be more effective than in resolving the extraordinary continental partnership which nature has imposed upon us with the United States. And not to give our first priority in terms of brains to the political, economic, military problems of Canadian-U.S. relations is, it seems to me, not to see where our primary interests must lie in essentially geo-political terms.

Mr. President, the present call for a restatement of foreign policy therefore may begin with self-interest, but it is futile unless it moves towards some larger concern for other men and other places. The determined retention of our own Canadian well-being may be the dominant (perhaps selfish) national goal. Yet today we all live under the fear of nuclear threat to all mankind, and even a regional threat to Canada itself, as well as under the consequences of global changes in life styles and expectations.

For Canada is regarded as one of the world's most fortunate countries, measured by its location, its resources and even by its international problems – acute though the present Canadian crisis may be in French-English relations, in language rights, and in its federalism generally. We belong, as I said a moment ago, to the white affluent minority on a planet where the non-white majority is mostly very poor, under-developed, and powerfully aware of its deprived status.

Even Canadian poverty by contrast is sadly bearable when measured by global standards of ill-being in the less advanced sections of other nations.

Our foreign policy choices therefore begin with a certain world image, the converse of Canada, as well as our own self-image. Moreover, any future decision we make must fit into the existing framework of political and social reality. We must reassess the value of any special systems of which we are already a part, such as NATO, NORAD, the Commonwealth and the United Nations. And with our reassessment we must somehow also resolve certain specialized

Canadian problems, of which the bilateral U.S.-Canadian question is the transcendent issue of day-to-day interest to Canada and all Canadians.

Viewed against this background and within this context, what choices can we make for a foreign policy for tomorrow?

Certain assumptions are inevitable and necessary. And one primary premise is that a foreign policy must be one that in advancing Canadian interests makes the strongest possible impact intellectually, morally, economically, politically. But in having interest and impact as principal goals, it must be said, as I have tried to show, that Canada is not really very free to choose among some apparent options.

We are for the most part historical prisoners of the great issues such as thermo-nuclear threats, the gulf of colour and affluence, the life styles of the world, the growing dangers of ecological and urban damage which affluence and industry are escalating. We have very little direct control over most of these immense imponderables.

Nevertheless Canada in its own interest is bound to take those steps that advance the progressive forces and programmes now in the international community. At the very least Canada should make those choices that she is relatively free to make, or to influence the major decision-makers, such as the United States, the Soviet Union, and perhaps even Mainland China, whenever that influence can be brought to bear.

Let me suggest, Mr. President, the following conclusions and possible Canadian programme as we review our foreign policy. First, the primary involvements and instruments of Canadian foreign policy are likely to be in the immediate future the given systems and the geo-political neighbourhood of which we are now a part: NATO, NORAD, the Commonwealth and the United Nations as systems; the United States and the Soviet Union as neighbourhood, with the United States the primary arena of our day-to-day involvement.

What is new, however, in this regard is the recent recognition of the Soviet Union provides an immensely fruitful new opportunity of neighbourhood as we rediscover sharing with her the Arctic Basin and the Arctic frontier. We have not yet begun to exploit the possibilities of this new Soviet-oriented neighbourhood – scientific, economic, intellectual, geographic. And it is time for us to do so.

Secondly, our UN policy is basically sound; but it can be no better, of course, than the willingness of states, and particularly of the great powers, to take small security risks in and with the UN.

Our reliance, for example, on the United Nations for maintaining peace and security is not worth very much if the UN itself through the great powers is no longer or unable to maintain a serious role in world security problems. We therefore must ask ourselves whether the part Canada plays in the UN is not now becoming one that almost entirely emphasizes emergency alarm techniques on the one side and social, social economic and human rights programmes, as well as the development of international law, on the other.

But the main problems of security, both major or even brush-fire tend now to be maintained within systems outside the UN itself; for example, Viet Nam, Berlin, Biafra; all are outside the working day-to-day life of the UN.

Only the Middle East is clearly now an item of importance in the security area on the UN agenda. And here Mr. Jaring, the UN representative, is not able to do much unless the parties and the great powers co-operate to make the UN presence meaningful – although the UN cease fire to begin with was very helpful in bringing the June 1967 hostilities to a halt.

Future peace-keeping and observation projects in which Canada took part so ably over the past generation are now being bedevilled in the UN by the unresolved financing and constitutional issues. Yet even the social, economic and human environment subjects of the UN are too often affected now by the chronic debate over apartheid and related areas, distracting that organization and often converting the General Assembly into a forum whose priorities and votes are determined heavily by colour and not *per se* on the merits. Nevertheless a programmatic faith by Canada to the UN is absolutely indispensable.

The Canadian NATO policy review must not be too discouraged by the Russian occupation of Czechoslovakia, tragic though that was. For NATO to become excessively hawkish or bullish because of the convulsive effort of the Soviet Union to hold its distintegrating empire together would, in my opinion be a mistake. And Canada need not give hostage to that error.

Nevertheless, if Canada is to maintain any West European credibility among her present allies and friends a slowly-phased reduction of our NATO commitment would be tolerable, while an abrupt change of policy might not be. A three to five year phasing out programme, other things being equal, is politically manageable and militarily might not be objectionable.

Nevertheless events could change this timetable, not the least of which is the future problem of Germany, now becoming the strongest NATO participant outside of the United States in NATO. Canada has a vital stake in continuing the dilution of German power inside the NATO system; almost as much a stake as in balancing off the USSR through the alliance.

So let us not convert the present NATO debate into a cabinet seminar on the limits of collective responsibility.

Fourthly, we need the Commonwealth. It continues to play an unconventional, perhaps even exotic role, providing Canadian access to the masses and institutions of many non-white nations, and it is the basis of much valuable diplomacy as well as of external aid arrangements uniquely suitable to the Canadian programme.

Yet it would be a mistake to exaggerate the Commonwealth's influence for power or to underestimate its growing political burdens, as the last London Prime Ministers' Conference indicated. Increasingly it may involve us in awkward conflicts, both by the Rhodesian and Biafran questions.

On balance the Commonwealth's assets, however, far outweigh its burdens; and we should continue to support it.

Fifthly, Canada has an entirely new international role not foreseen a half dozen years ago in its relation to francophonie or the French-language communities of the world.

What this will mean is difficult to forecast. But clearly to service that relationship with the French communities requires new types of external aid, bilingual Canadian foreign service officers and institutions, and an authentically bicultural world view on the part of Canada itself.

The immediate feed-back, both ways from Canadian B. and B. changes to this francophonie interest, and again from the new francophonie relationships back into the new B. and B. policies will be among the most interesting and delicate developments in foreign policy and its management over the next decade.

General De Gaulle's indirect contribution – and I stress the word :"indirect" – may have hastened the Canadian evolution towards this dual image and links with the world by Canada. Our influence on General De Gaulle, was to say the least, not a dividend of this new commitment. It well may be in the case of his successor.

Sixthly, the United States remains the primary arena of Canadian international concern. We share with her a common continent, virtually a common economy and defence policy, and, without really admitting it, we share, to a very large extent, an implied common foreign policy in many vital areas.

We need to develop new techniques for the management of this continental economy so as not to be simply the involuntary responding agent to U.S. mastery. The earliest possible establishment of a Joint Economic Commission is essential for balancing off our respective size and vulnerability through the technique of a joint agency not unlike the International Joint Commission under the Boundary Waters Treaty. Here, you may recall, we have a fifty/fifty position (three members each) with the United States in the decision-making and advisory processes of that Commission. Considering the extraordinary economic, legal and administrative involvements of the two economies and the two societies with each other, what we need is something similar.

The new agency would give advice on and do research into and possibly help to depoliticize issues and make minor executive decisions on a variety of economic and legal questions which now intertwine these two countries.

Moreover we should also begin to test the generosity and the limits of U.S. friendship. Both in our as yet modest thermo-nuclear commitments in NORAD and in our very early recognition of Communist China Canada may have a chance to test the limits of United States cordiality, and the possibility of true choices (not easily acceptable to the U.S.) within our own immediate neighbourhood.

NORAD no longer requires obsolete BOMARCS in Canada and on Canadian territory. But this does not mean that it is realistic for Canada to opt out of NORAD itself. And we have yet to see a modern up-dated programme which takes into account the natural desire of the United States to have an ally on its northern frontier (and of Canada to respond) without committing Canada to an obsolete, thermo-nuclear policy on its own territory. (These remarks were made before the present debate began over the ABM and Canadian NORAD policy.)

Seventh, Canada should undertake major efforts in the field of disarmament and arms control research, at the universities and elsewhere, if only to assure itself of an independent judgment on the technical options available to mankind in the face of the monopoly of judgment so far in the hands of the United States and the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent, in the U.K.

How can we really have any influence on the great decisions as to disarmament, or the techniques of arms control, if we do not do the research in that area? And, since we cannot do it as a great power and swing our weight, let us do it in terms of brainpower and swing our thoughts. Let us have first-class research on arms control in Canada. And let that influence the dialogue taking place in Moscow, in Washington and in the Disarmament Committee of 17 in Geneva.

Eighth, we are exploring a variety of experimental approaches to external aid. I think we should go farther. And I make two proposals which so far I have not seen discussed sufficiently in Canada.

First, I believe in the external aid area we must consider the role of tariff preferences for developing countries. If a rapidly developing country like Canada could have taken tariff preferences from the Commonwealth and the U.K. for so many years when she needed them far less than developing countries need them today, why should we deny the same principle to many developing countries?

Secondly, we should train possible teams for administrative assistance in the area of economic and social organization for developing countries, and do what the United Nations itself in the Technical Assistance Programme tried to do but did not always succeed in doing, namely, assist in the creation of strong public services in the developing area countries.

I think we have a special contribution to make here, particularly in Commonwealth countries where the style of government, the English language tradition, the common law and the Westminster model are well known. And we can do these with an effectiveness perhaps that few other members of the Commonwealth can do.

But, above all, we must prepare for the day when mass poverty abroad will be regarded as a more serious obligation than "pocket poverty" at home, here in Canada.

Ninth, we should search for a Latin-American policy perhaps as seriously as we are now seeking an Asian one. This may or may not require us to join the Organization of American States. But this issue is itself not that urgent and is less significant than somehow or other marrying up our Caribbean experience to the goodwill we have in some other parts of Latin America, while retaining as much objectivity in these operations as possible, considering vital U.S. interests in the area. We must not allow ourselves to be put in the position where we are being used either for or against the United States either by our Latin-American friends, or by the United States itself.

Trade and aid, scholarships and cultural exchanges are waiting to be explored – with Quebec a Latin link here of high utility.

Tenth, we must see Japan, China and Southeast Asia as an immense inviting world, whose Pacific waters we share, and whose economy, particularly Japan's increasingly impinges on our own.

Think, for example, of the role of Chinese wheat purchases over the past eight or nine years on the Canadian economy and the balance of payments. That story speaks for itself. Think of Japanese and Canadian trade reaching new levels of unexpected magnitude.

Above all, the continuing alienation of Mainland China from general world politics needs thoughtful Canadian initiatives, despite the diplomatic and Formosan difficulties. Yet the future of Formosa is a matter of concern to us. We simply cannot make the assumption that we have no moral obligation to the people of Formosa, but we must not allow the permanent difficulty of Formosa to stand in the way of a creative policy toward Mainland China.

While we can guess at it, we cannot really predict the extent of the possible Canadian function in a Viet Nam settlement, which may require policing by the International Control Commission, of which we are a member. Is Canada ready for such a prolonged, expensive and essentially thankless a burden as policing a Viet Nam settlement, if we are called upon to do so?

I suspect there is no body of Canadian opinion yet ready to face that prospective invitation, should it ever come.

Now, Mr. President, little of this analysis may be new in the eyes of eternity, for in the end we are likely to discover that not only are the choices limited, but the foreign policy is too important to be left to excessive idealism or to bland realism. What we shall need, I think, in the near future is a well-represented National Advisory Council on Foreign Policy, in which we have representatives from the academic community, business, labour, agriculture, and elsewhere to stimulate, and take sounding on, programmes and ideas. It need not and should not be anything as elaborate as the Economic Council of Canada, but its aim should be the creation of a source of counsel to governments beyond the able public servants and private members living in their special day-to-day worlds of urgent decisions, and influenced heavily, as they must be, by immediate political and administrative considerations.

Participatory democracy is a dangerous phrase when used in aid of disorder and chaos. It is an invaluable idea for the democratic process, if that process is to embrace the best the country has to offer, without naively believing that the complex, urban, technologically-oriented society, such as we now live in, really permits a "townhall" decision-making process. Let us choose, together, our policies wisely and well.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. Jos. Sedgwick, Q.C.

FEBRUARY 6, 1969

The New Look in U. S. Policy

AN ADDRESS BY

Senator Frank Church,
U.S. SENATOR FROM IDAHO

CHAIRMAN

The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

There is no more powerful legislative body in the world than the United States, and its Foreign Affairs Committee is one of special importance. Our distinguished guest, a Senator from Idaho since the age of 33, is a member of that committee and has recently become chairman of its sub-committee on the western hemisphere, which includes Canada.

Senator Church is an outstanding member of the younger generation among American statesmen. Many will remember his stirring words as keynote speaker at the 1960 Democratic Convention which nominated Kennedy for President.

A native of Idaho, he was educated at Stanford and Harvard, served in the Second World War, practised law in Boise and led the young Democrats of Idaho while still in his twenties. In 1957 he was named by the National Junior Chambers of Commerce as one of his country's ten most outstanding young men.

In 1968 the Republican Party swept the State of Idaho, but Frank Church came back for his third term as Democratic Senator with a larger majority than ever before. A leading member of the Senate at 44, he is a man from whom much has been heard – and more will be heard in years to come, Senator Frank Church.

MR. CHURCH:

Thank you, Mr. President, distinguished guests, Gentlemen: I thank you first of all for the opportunity of coming and speaking to such a well-known, prominent Club. I want first of all to acknowledge the kindness and generosity of my introduction.

You might have mentioned one thing to break the ice for me, that being, that I have long been an out-spoken critic of American foreign policy.

I don't come here today to praise that policy. Neither do I come here to bury my government with any kind of verbal criticism. I would not give this speech outside my own country, except to a Canadian audience and I say that because I know that the Canadian people have the best interests of the United States fully as much at heart as the people of my own country.

My subject, as Ted has mentioned is the subject of Revolution and World Order. A few years ago at a dinner in London, I spent an evening in friendly debate with Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker as to whether the Soviet Union or the United States was the more ideological in conducting its foreign relations. The argument was a bit of a stalemate, but it left me to reflect upon another, less debatable resemblance in the current foreign policies of the two countries, the attempt of each, within its respective sphere of influence, to maintain order by preserving the status quo.

The relative tolerance or touchiness of a great power toward revolt in a country which it judges to be within its sphere is only partly governed by an objective appreciation of events. To an equal or greater extent the large nation's attitude is determined by its own subjective feeling of security, by its confidence or lack of confidence in its institutions. If it suspects that revolutionary change in a small neighbor is controlled or influenced, or even likely to work to the advantage of, a great power rival, it is likely to regard the revolutionary movement as a grave threat to its vital interests, if not indeed to its very survival.

For all their immense physical power, the two dominant nations in the world, the United States and the Soviet Union, suffer from a neurotic sense of insecurity, although neither regards itself as being in imminent danger of attack by the other. At tremendous cost their nuclear armories keep them at bay and, barring some unexpected technological breakthrough on one side or the other, the delicate equilibrium will hold, leaving the two rivals in a state of chronic but only low grade anxiety over the danger of attack by the other. It is a costly, irrational and desperately dangerous way of keeping the peace but it is all we have shown ourselves capable of thus far.

The immediate threat that each superpower perceives from the other is its ideological impact on third countries, most particularly those which it regards as its protective buffers. It is one of the supposed realities of international politics, a kind of higher law transcending such legal documents as the United Nations Charter, that great powers are entitled to have spheres of influence made up of friendly neighbors. In the case of maritime powers such as the United States, the neighborhood may extend to the fringes of distant continents but, whether or not the buffer is contiguous, the principle is the same: in order to guard itself against even the most remote or hypothetical threat to its security, a great power is held entitled to intervene in the affairs of its small neighbors, even to the extent of making the basic decisions as to how they will organize and run their own societies.

Seen in this way, the various interventions of the United States and the Soviet Union are defended not only as legitimate defensive measures but as positive services. Thus, in the case of their intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965, American policy makers were untroubled by the fact that their intervention violated both the Rio Treaty and the Charter of the Organization of American States and that the revolution which they suppressed was on behalf of a freely elected government which had been expelled by a coup. These were judged only superficial considerations when weighed against the need to defend America from the specter of a second Cuba while rescuing the Dominicans from their foolhardy flirtation with communism.

It remained for the Russians to devise a doctrine of ideological justification for the policy of interventionism. In a document which has come to be known as the Brezhnev doctrine, the Soviet government pointed out that, in invading Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and its proteges were doing no more than discharging their internationalist duty toward the fraternal peoples of Czechoslovakia and defending their own socialist gains against antisocialist forces supported by world imperialism seeking to export counterrevolution. Well whether the Russians actually believed this or not, I can't say, but I can say I don't believe it. I believe that the Russians, even if they persuaded themselves otherwise, suppressed the liberal government of Czechoslovakia because they feared the contagion of freedom for the rest of their empire and ultimately for the Soviet Union itself. Nor do I believe that, in suppressing revolutions in Latin America and trying to suppress revolution in Vietnam, the United States is acting legitimately in its own self-defense. There are, God knows, profound differences between the internal orders of the United States and the Soviet Union, ours is a free society and theirs is a totalitarian society whose leaders have shown themselves to be terrified of freedom, but, in their foreign policies, the two superpowers have taken on a remarkable resemblance. Concerned primarily with the preservation of their own vast hegemonies, they have become, in their respective spheres, defenders of the status quo against the pressures of revolutionary upheaval in which each perceives little but the secret hand of the other.

Suppressing revolution in its own immediate vicinity is an easy if embarrassing task for a superpower. Suppressing it on a distant continent is more difficult, and, as we have learned in Vietnam, beating down a strongly motivated, capably led and well-organized indigenous force is a virtual impossibility. Confronted with rising nationalist movements, the superpowers, to their own astonishment, sometimes find themselves musclebound. Their nuclear power, though colossal, is so colossal as to be unusable except for keeping each other terrified. But in dealing with the unruly third world, as Mr. Kissinger has pointed out, "power no longer translates automatically into influence."

Nor, does influence translate readily into desirable or usable power. In Europe before the First World War there was a significant relationship between influence and power and between territory and power, though perhaps even then the correlation was less than it seemed. Still, by conquering territory or forming alliances, a nation could hope to gain material resources and political predominance. Accordingly, the balance of power was maintained, more or less, by isolating and denying opportunities for territorial expansion to the most powerful or ambitious nation. In our own time the balance of power is determined far more by economic and technological developments within countries than by alliances and territorial acquisition. China, for example, has gained far greater power through the acquisition of nuclear weapons than if it had conquered all of southeast Asia.

Vietnam, in this context, is a showcase of bankruptcy, a hopeless war fought for insubstantial stakes. As a war for high principle; Vietnam simply does not measure up: the Saigon government is neither a democracy warranting our support on ideological grounds nor a victim of international aggression warranting our support under the United Nations Charter. As an effort to contain Chinese power, the war in Vietnam is irrelevant as well as unsuccessful; even if a communist Vietnam were to fall under Chinese control, as I do not think it would, the gains to China would be trivial

OCTOBER 4TH, 1968 – RT. HON. ROY JENKINS, CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

October 24th, 1968 – Jean Martineau, Q.C.
Chairman, The Canada Council

OCTOBER 31ST, 1968 – DONALD C. MACDONALD,
PRESIDENT, CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

November 7th, 1968 – The Lord Taylor of Harlow,
President, Memorial University of Newfoundland

NOVEMBER 28TH, 1968 – HON. GEORGE DREW,
P.C., C.C., C.D., Q.C., LL.D.

JANUARY 9TH, 1969 – WILLIAM DENNISON, MAYOR OF TORONTO

OF
ANADA
ROYAL YORK HOTEL

JANUARY 16TH, 1969 – DR. WILDER PENFIELD, O.M., WITH SENATOR JOSEPH A. SULLIVAN, THE PRESIDENT, THE LATE SENATOR WALLACE McCUTCHEON, MRS. PENFIELD

JANUARY 30TH, 1969 – MAXWELL COHEN, Q.C.,
DEAN OF LAW, MCGILL UNIVERSITY

February 6th, 1969 – Hon. Frank Church of Idaho, Chairman, Sub-Committee on Hemispheric Affairs of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee

NADA
ROYAL YORK HOTEL

February 13th, 1969 – Hon. Edgar J. Benson, Minister of Finance

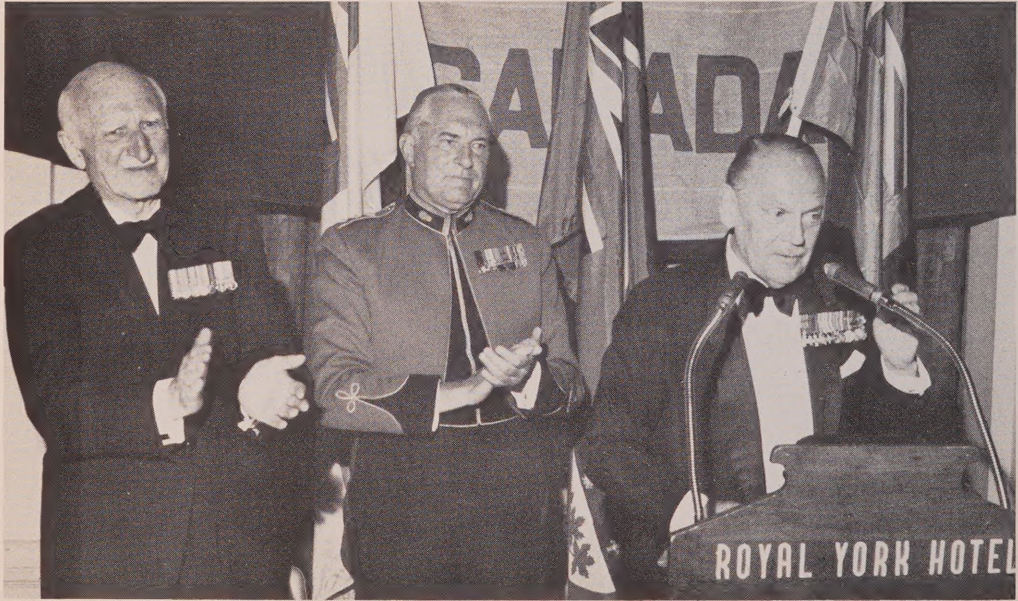
MARCH 6TH, 1969 – ROBERT C. SCRIVENER,
PRESIDENT, BELL CANADA

March 13th, 1969 – Sir Colin Crowe,
High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada

MARCH 27TH, 1969 – DAVID LEWIS, Q.C., M.P.,
DEPUTY LEADER, NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

April 10th, 1969 – Roger N. Seguin, Q.C.,
President, the French-Canadian Association of Ontario

April 17th, 1969 – Hon. Charles S. MacNaughton,
Treasurer of Ontario



June 9th, 1969 – Major-General Sir Francis de Guingand, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O. (Chief of Staff on the invasion of Normandy) with Hon. W. Ross Macdonald, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario and Hon. Vice-President of the Club; and Lt. Col. E. A. Royce, E.D., Past President and Chairman, D-Day Dinner compared to those accruing from her industrialization and acquisition of nuclear weapons.

The case on which Vietnam must stand or fall, if it has not already fallen, is the theory of an exemplary war, a war fought not so much on its own intrinsic merits as to demonstrate something to the world, such as that America will always live up to its alleged commitments or that wars of national liberation cannot succeed. The stake then is ultimately a psychological one, influence conceived as power.

Knocking down the case for an exemplary war is at this point very nearly belaboring the obvious. As to proving that wars of national liberation cannot succeed, all that we have proven in four years of bitter, inconclusive warfare is that, even with an army of half a million Americans, we cannot win a victory for an unpopular and incompetent regime against a disciplined, well-organized indigenous nationalist insurrectionary force, and this after the expenditure of 130,000 American lives in dead and wounded, and 100 billion dollars. In the harsh but accurate summation of a British conservative who was once a supporter of the war;

> "Instead of the Americans impressing the world with their strength and virtue, they are making themselves hated by some for what they are doing, and despised by the remander for not doing it more efficaciously."

At least two prominent members of the Nixon Administration have explicitly recognized the bankruptcy of our Vietnam strategy. Henry Kissinger writes:

> ". . . Whatever the outcome of the war in Vietnam, it is clear that it has greatly diminished American willingness to become involved in this form of warfare elsewhere. Its utility as a precedent has therefore been importantly undermined."

President Nixon's Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Charles Yost, has made the point as forcefully as possible:

> "The most decisive lesson of Viet Nam would seem to be that no matter how much force it may expend, the United States cannot ensure the security of a country whose government is unable to mobilize and maintain sufficient popular support to control domestic insurgency. . . . If indigenous dissidents, whether or not communist, whether or not supported from outside, are able to mobilize and maintain more effective popular support than the government, they will eventually prevail. . . ."

Vietnam is only one, albeit the most striking and costly, instance of a general, if not quite invariable, American policy of opposing revolution in the developing world. In some instances this policy has been successful, at least for the short term. With our support, repressive governments in Brazil and Greece and a conservative government in the Dominican Republic, to cite but a few examples, have successfully held down popular aspirations for social and economic change. Through our support of reactionary governments in Latin America and elsewhere, we are preserving order in our sphere of influence, and momentarily at least excluding revolution. But it is order purchased at the price of aligning ourselves with corruption and reaction against aggrieved and indignant indigenous forces which by and large are more responsive to popular aspirations than those which we support.

This policy of preserving the status quo is an exceedingly short-sighted one. Sooner or later, there can be little doubt, the rising forces of popular discontent will break through the brittle lid of repression. So at least historical experience suggests. We did it ourselves in 1776 and much of the history of nineteenth century Europe consists of the successful rebellion of nationalist movements, German, Italian, Belgian, Greek and Slavic, against the powerful European order forged by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. In the twentieth century we have seen the great European empires, British, French and Dutch, break up in the face of nationalist rebellion in hardly more than a decade after World War I.

Since then the revolutionary tide has continued to swell across Asia, across Africa and through Latin America and it seems unlikely that even the immense resources of the United States will prove sufficient to contain the tide much longer. We have all but acknowledged our failure in Vietnam. What will we do if Souvanna Phoma's government in Laos should collapse, as it probably would if we terminated our counterinsurgency efforts and as it very well may anyway? Or if a popular rebellion should break out against the military dictatorship in Brazil? Or if a communist-socialist government should come to power in Chile through a free election in 1970 as it could? Would we send armies to these large countries as we did in South Vietnam or the small Dominican Republic? With aid and arms we have helped to delay the collapse of regimes whose very existence is an obstacle to social justice. Eventually, there seems little doubt, they will collapse, the more violently and with greater upheaval for having ben perpetuated beyond their natural life span.

Thus far I have been speaking of the fragility and shortsightedness of our policy of repressing revolution. Something should be said about its morals as well. Order and stability are antiseptic words; they do not tell us anything about the way human beings live and the way they die. The diplomatic historians who invoke the model of Metternich's European order in the nineteenth century usually neglect to mention that it was an order purchased at the cost of condemning millions of people to live under the tyranny of the Russian tsar, the Turkish sultan and other ignorant and reactionary monarchs. The absolute primacy of order over justice was neatly expressed by Metternich in his assertion that, "Barbarous as it is, Turkey is a necessary evil." In a similar vein, and I hope not with equal callousness, when we speak of stability and order in developing countries, we neglect to note that in more than a few instances the order purchased by our aid and by our arms is one which binds millions of people to live under a feudalism which fosters ignorance, hunger and disease. It means blighted lives, children with bellies bloated and brains stunted by malnutrition, their parents scavenging food in garbage heaps, a daily occurrence in the slums of Asia and Latin America. Only the abstraction of diplomacy take form in high policy councils; to see its flesh and blood one must go to a Brazilian slum, or to a devastated village in Vietnam.

Besides being short-sighted and immoral, our policy of perpetuating the status quo has a third fatal defect, a defect which represents our best hope for formulating a new foreign policy; it goes against the American grain. That is the meaning of the dissent against Vietnam and of the deep alienation of so many of our youth. It is their belief in the values they were brought up to believe in, in the idea of their country as a model of decency and democracy, that has confounded the policy makers who only a few years ago were contending that we could fight a limited war for a decade or two without seriously disrupting the internal life of the United States. What they overlooked in their preoccupation with war games and escalation scenarios was the concern of millions of Americans not just with the cost but with the character of wars they fight and their consequent outrage against a war which, even at what the strategists would consider tolerable cost, has made a charnel house of a small and poor Asian country. In this moral sense there is hope, hope that we will recognize at last that a foreign policy which goes against our national character is untenable.

The question to which we then come is whether order, in the sense in which we now conceive it, is indeed a vital interest of the United States, or whether, in this revolutionary age, we can accommodate ourselves to a great deal of disorder in the world. My answer, as I am sure will be clear by now, is that we must and can learn to live with widespread revolutionary turmoil. We must because it is not within our means to stem the tide; we can because social revolution is not nearly so menacing to us as we have supposed, or at least it need not be. If we can but liberate ourselves from ideological obsession, from the automatic association of social revolution with communism and of communism with Soviet or Chinese power, we may find it possible to discriminate among disorders in the world, and to evaluate them with greater objectivity, which is to say, more on the basis of their own content and less on the basis of our own fears. We would find, I think, that some revolutionary movements, and I include communist ones, will affect us little if at all, that others may affect us adversely but not grievously, and that some may even benefit us.

All of which is to say nothing about the right of the peoples in smaller nations to settle their own affairs without interference by the great powers. There is after all no moral or legal right of a great power to impose its will on a small country even if the latter does things which affect it adversely. Americans were justly outraged by the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, not primarily because we thought the Russians could have endured Czech democratization without loss to themselves, but because we thought the Czechs had a right to reform their system whether it suited the Russians or not. Ought not the same principle to apply in our relations with Latin America and, indeed, with small countries all over the world?

I believe that it should. I would go even farther and suggest that we rededicate ourselves to the good neighbor policy enunicated by President Franklin Roosevelt thirty years ago. There is, of course, nothing new about the principle of nonintervention: we have been preaching it for years. What I suggest as an innovation is that we now undertake to practise it, not only when we find it perfectly consistent with what we judge to be our interests but even when it does not suit our own national preferences. I suggest, therefore, as a guiding principle of American foreign policy, that we abstain hereafter from military intervention in the internal affairs of other countries under any circumstances short of a clear and certain danger to our own national security, and that we adhere to this principle whether others, including the Russians and the Chinese, do so or not.

Now I know that it can be argued, that we cannot be expected to refrain from interference while the Russians hold Eastern Europe in thrall and the Chinese foster wars of national liberation, in Asia and both seek opportunities to subvert noncommunist governments all over the world. Would this not throw open the flood gates to a torrent of revolutions leading to communism here, there and everywhere?

Setting aside for the moment the question of whether communist rule elsewhere is invariably detrimental to the United States, experience suggests a policy of nonintervention would not throw open the flood gates to communism. Communist bids for power have failed more often than they have succeeded in countries beyond the direct reach of Soviet military power, Indonesia and Guinea, for example. There is, of course, no assurance that an American policy of nonintervention would guarantee against new communist take-overs, obviously, our abstention from Cuba in 1959 was a factor in the success of Castro's Revolution. But neither is there a guarantee that a policy of military intervention will defeat every communist revolution, witness Vietnam. Neither approach, abstention or military intervention, can be counted on to immunize against communism for the simple reason that neither is of ultimate relevance to the conditions which militate for or against revolution in the first place.

We have in fact had positive benefits from pursuing a policy of nonintervention. There is no country in Latin America more friendly to the United States than Mexico, which expelled American oil interests forty years ago, while seemingly enthralled with Marxist doctrines, and which even now pursues an independent foreign policy including the maintenance of cordial relations with Cuba. The thought presents itself that a policy of nonintervention could now serve as well to liberate us from the embrace of incompetent and reactionary regimes, which ignore popular aspirations at home out of confidence that, if trouble develops, they can summon the American marines, while holding us in line by the threat of their own collapse.

Gentlemen, the critical factor is nationalism, which, far more than any ideology, has shown itself to be the engine of change in modern history. When an ideology is strongly identified with nationalism as communism is in Cuba and Vietnam and as democracy is in Czechoslovakia, foreign military intervention must either fail outright or, as the Russians have learned in Czechoslovakia, succeed at such cost in worldwide moral opprobrium as to be self-defeating. My own personal feeling is that, in a free market of ideas, communism has no record of achievement to commend itself as a means toward rapid modernization in developing countries. Think about it. Of the forty or fifty nations born in Africa and Asia since the end of the Second World War, only three are communist.

We could profitably take a leaf, I think from the Chinese outlook in this respect. The Lin Piao doctrine of wars of national liberation, often mistaken as a blueprint for world conquest, is in fact an explicit acknowledgement of the inability of a foreign power to sustain a revolution without indigenous support. This is what Lin Piao said:

> "In order to make a revolution and to fight a people's war and be victorious, it is imperative to adhere to the policy of self-reliance, rely on the strength of the masses in one's own country and prepare to carry on the fight independently even when all material aid from outside is cut off. If one does not operate by one's own efforts, does not independently ponder and solve the problems of the revolution in one's own country and does not rely

> on the strength of the masses, but leans wholly on foreign aid, even though this be aid from socialist countries which persist in revolution as China, no victory can be won, or be consolidated even if it is won."

Nationalism is not only the barrier to communism in countries which reject it; it is a modifier and neutralizer of communism in those smal countries which do accept it. As Tito had demonstrated in Europe and as Ho Chi Minh has demonstrated in Asia, a strongly nationalist regime will defend its independence regardless of common ideology; and it will do so with far greater effectiveness than a weak and unpopular regime; also regardless of ideology. It is beyond question that the Tito government has been a vastly more effective barrier to Soviet power in the Balkans than the old prewar monarchy ever could have been; and, as Edwin O. Reischauer has written:

> "It seems highly probable that Ho's Communist-dominated regime, if it had been allowed by us to take over all Vietnam at the end of the war, would have moved to a position with relation to China not unlike that of Tito's Yugoslavia toward the Soviet Union."

If freedom is the basic human drive we believe it to be, I submit that an act of faith seems warranted, not in its universal triumph, which experience gives us no particular reason to expect, but in its survival and continuing appeal. The root fact of ideology to which we come, perhaps the only tenet which can be called a fact at all, is that, at some basic level of being, every man and woman alive aspires to freedom and abhors compulsion. It does not follow from this, that communism is doomed to perish from the earth as a distortion of nature, or that democracy, as we know it is predestined to triumph everywhere. Political forms which seem to offend human nature have existed throughout history, and others which have seemed attuned to human needs have been known to perish. All that can be said with confidence is that, whatever is done to suppress them, man's basic aspirations have a way of reasserting themselves and, insofar as our American political forms are attuned to these basic aspirations, they are a long leg ahead in the struggle for survival.

Faith in the viability of freedom will not, in itself, guarantee our national security. But it can and should help to allay our extravagant fear of communism. It should enable us to compete with confidence in the market of ideas. It should free us from the fatal temptation of fight fire with fire by imitating the tactics of a rival who can not be sure of the viability of his ideas in an open contest. The Russians, when you come right down to it, have better reason to fear freedom in Czechoslovakia than we have to fear communism in Vietnam. Appealing as it does to basic human aspirations, the contagion of Czech liberty very likely is a threat, at least in the long run, to the totalitarian system of the Soviet Union; by no stretch of the imagination can Ho Chi Minh's rule in Vietnam be said to pose a comparable threat to democracy in the United States.

The greatest danger to our democracy, I daresay, is not that the communists will destroy it, but that we will betray it by the very means chosen to defend it. Foreign policy is not and cannot be permitted to become an end in itself. It is rather a means toward an end, which in our case is not only the safety of the United States but the preservation of her democratic values. A foreign policy of intervention and the repression of revolution in the internal affairs of other, smaller countries is a policy that must ultimately be subversive of that purpose. Involving as it does the maintenance of a huge and costly military establishment, it must also involve the neglect of domestic needs, a burgeoning military-industrial-academic complex, chronic anxiety and crisis. The United States has been engaged in more major warfare in the past twenty years than any other major power and all these things are an anathema to a democratic society. Every time we suppress a popular revolution abroad, we subvert our own democratic principles. In no single instance is the self-inflicted injury likely to be fatal, but with each successive occurrence the contradiction and hypocrisy become more apparent, and more of our people become disillusioned, more become alienated or angry, while a few are simply corrupted.

Being gradual and cumulative, the malady went largely undetected for too long to time. Now, however, a hue and cry has been raised, this is the reason for the turmoil in American today, and for that we may be grateful, because the great debate in which we are engaged can, if we wish, be corrective as well as cathartic, by laying the foundations for a new approach in our foreign relations.

The shape and content of a new foreign policy are still beyond our view. For the moment all that comes clearly into focus are the contradictions of our present approach and a few basic inferences that can be drawn from recent experience, notably: that we need not rely on military intervention to give freedom a chance of surviving in the world; that we indeed cannot do so without compromising our own freedom; and that only by being true to our traditional values and our own best concept of ourselves can we hope to play a decent and constructive role in a revolutionary age. Thank you very much.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Hon. A. F. Lawrence, Q.C.

FEBRUARY 13, 1969

Tax Reform

AN ADDRESS BY The Hon. Edgar J. Benson,
MINISTER OF FINANCE

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

In introducing our distinguished guest and speaker today, I accept a self-denying ordinance and make absolutely no reference to matters which have taken up so much air time and newspaper space during the past week. The safer course is to go back about 1,900 years and refer to the news recorded by St. Luke, Chapter 2, as follows:

> "And it came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that *all the world should be taxed*."

On that one basic principle there seems to have been general agreement ever since.

At times some Canadians may give the impression that we are the only people who pay taxes or have fiscal or constitutional problems. The fact is that we are among the most fortunate of all nations. I well remember living as a boy in a certain country of Southern Asia where taxes had been collected for 13 years in advance, inflation was a grim reality and separatism was successful everywhere.

In our day, the ever increasing importance of national fiscal policy to the economy as a whole gives added importance to the Department of Finance. In Canada it is headed now by a man of exceptional ability, varied experience and solid achievement.

The Honourable Edgar John Benson was born and educated on the old Ontario Strand, at Cobourg and then at Queen's University. He served with the Army for five years in Canada, Britain, France, Holland and Germany. A Chartered Accountant and a Fellow of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ontario, he practised his profession in Kingston and for 10 years he was also Assistant Professor of Commerce at Queen's.

First elected to the House of Commons in 1962, his rise to national prominence was orderly but swift and entirely predictable: Parliamentary secretary, Finance, in 1963; Minister of National Revenue in 1964; and also President of the Treasury Board by 1966; Minister of Finance, 1968.

Gentlemen, I present to you our own Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Honourable Edgar Benson.

MR. BENSON:

Tax Reform

Within the next year a reformed taxation system should be in operation. Because the basic framework will serve us for many years, the Government not only wants a fair system, but one that Canadian taxpayers think of as fair. Public debate, consultations with interested groups and organizations and with the provinces are essential to achieving a reasonable concensus. The debate has been underway for the best part of this decade, and in the next few months will increase in tempo.

In April, 1967, my predecessor proposed a five-stage programme to tax reform. First, oral and written consultation with the taxpayers and governments. Second, publication of a white paper incorporating the Government's decisions about the income tax. The paper would contain some important details to make clear how the proposals would work. Third, consideration by a Parliamentary committee which could listen to taxpayers and the provincial governments. Fourth, publication of a draft bill which might incorporate changes resulting from the views received in the Parliamentary committee. Fifth, further public hearings on the draft bill before a Government bill was prepared for presentation to Parliament.

When I moved to this portfolio last Spring I decided against publishing a white paper and to make some other changes in the process of consultation to take account of this. There were several reasons for the change. The original target of putting tax reform on the law books in 1968 was obviously missed. Elimination of a second round of public hearings might recoup some of the lost time by avoiding a duplication of the debate. There also seemed a great advantage in producing a draft bill at the outset to provide lawyers, accountants, businessmen and taxpayers with more precise information about how the system might work.

The factors have prompted me now to adopt another course, which will involve publication of a white paper but avoid two hearings before a Government bill is placed before Parliament.

We plan to publish the white paper in June. Hearings before a Parliamentary committee will listen to representations from interested persons and organizations after everyone has an opportunity to study the proposals. Some of the legal work will be referred to the committee to demonstrate some of the proposals in greater detail. These might contain changes based on the Government's reaction to the debate which has taken place up to then. Then the testimony at the committee hearing will all be considered seriously by the Government before a tax bill is presented to Parliament.

I said there were two reasons which led me to adopt this revised programme for consultation and legislative action. We are doubtful that a draft bill can be written by early Summer without delaying the drafting into law of other priority proposals. The second reason is psychological and of great importance. It was becoming clear that many persons and groups viewed a white paper as evidence of the

Government's intention to consult and discuss the subject fully before legislating. Comprehensive consultations were always a part of the Government's plans whether there was a white paper or not. But perhaps a white paper will help to achieve what I talked about earlier: a concensus that the new system is thought of as fair as well as being fair.

Consultation which satisfies everyone is probably impossible to achieve. Those opposed to a certain course of action probably consider consultation inadequate unless a government acquiesces to their view. We have been told recently that we failed to consult with the provinces before proceeding with the reform of the estate tax. In fact there was consultation for almost two years. It started following the publication of the Carter Royal Commission Report on Taxation. In April, 1967, Mr. Sharp specifically asked for comment and submissions on the question of inheritance taxes. Few of the organizations and governments which made submissions and talked to the Federal Government during 1967 recommended abolition of the estate tax. There was a general consensus it was a fair part of the total tax system. The estate tax is also a direct tax which bears no relation to the income tax. And, as I said at the time, this change was overdue whether there was any general tax reform or not. The budget was followed by a Federal-Provincial conference at which I indicated interested provinces would have every opportunity to raise the subject.

Our reasons for bringing in proposals affecting the chartered banks and insurance companies now rather than later were twofold: there was a reasonable concensus for action of this kind in the submissions made to the Government during the previous year and one half; there was also the certainty of immediate revenues to help the Federal Government achieve a budget of relative balance in 1969-70.

Consultations are fruitless unless followed by action either for or against a proposal. When action is decided upon our first responsibility is to Parliament. Therefore proposals of this kind must be announced there before the provinces or anyone else are informed. The Federal Members of Parliament should be informed of Government decisions as soon as the Provincial governments. They would have a duty to complain if they were told any later than the provinces what the Government was planning to ask Parliament to do.

Federal-Provincial Relations

I have been speaking of our approach to reform and development in one area of public policy which will certainly engage the serious attention of all Canadian taxpayers in the months ahead. May I turn now to a second issue of perhaps even greater long-run significance for the future of our country. I refer, of course, to constitutional reform – and particularly to the consensus which has now been reached to undertake a major review of one of the most complex parts of this work – the distribution of powers and responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments.

Needless to say, there are few aspects of the constitution which are more complex and difficult, or of greater significance to the long-run economic growth and prosperity of Canada. It takes on added meaning and importance as the total role of government in our economy seems to expand under almost irresistible pressure. When the Fathers of Confederation met to assign powers to legislate, to regulate, to spend money, and to raise revenues, they were concerned with only a small portion of the total output of the economy passing through government channels at all levels. Today, however, the three levels of government absorb and spend about one-third of the gross national product.

Consequently, it is more necessary than ever to make sure that governments at all levels are applying this large share of our total resources to the most urgent and important needs. And they must make use of them in the most productive and efficient manner. It is here that the distribution of powers among governments in a federal system is of such critical importance. We need an allocation of responsibilities which will make for functional efficiency in terms of modern society, an allocation which respects the social, economic and cultural diversity of the country, and an allocation which will help at the same time to strengthen the bonds of national unity and our national identity. To achieve these ends we need a distribution of tax and fiscal powers which will permit all levels of government to carry out, and be accountable for, their assigned responsibilities.

This is the challenge which the constitutional conference has now taken up. I shall not, of course, try in any way to anticipate what might finally emerge from the months of hard work and sharp clash of opinion which seems to lie ahead. I can, however, draw to your attention the broad view set out one year ago in published form by the federal government in its approach to this issue.

Perhaps it is a bit surprising after 100 years to find that our present view on the distribution of powers is remarkably close in spirit to that which seems to have guided the Fathers of Confederation in delineating the areas of federal and provincial jurisdiction, set out mainly in sections 91 and 92 of the British North America Act. They clearly subscribed to a conception of Canada as a unified market economy, in which citizens, goods and services, and capital should all be enabled to move freely across all internal boundaries. Although the modern notions of full employment, economic stabilization and growth, and viable international balance had not been elaborated, they were all inherent in the vision of a free, independent and developing national economy, occupying the northern half of this continent.

It is this broad conception, and its more detailed economic goals, which require that the Parliament of Canada must have responsibility and control of the major, interrelated levers of economic policy. These include monetary and credit policy, adequate powers of taxation and spending for fiscal stabilization, foreign trade, tariffs and international exchange.

There is not, I think, any really serious dispute on these traditional matters, although the case is increasingly made for close attention to the regional effects of national policies in these fields. But the Fathers of Confederation could not have been expected to foresee clearly the dimensions and requirements of two other major objectives. One of these concerns the newer concept of the role of government in actively promoting the process of economic growth – both nationally and regionally. This need and responsibility today accentuates the importance of so-called "supply-oriented policies." These have to do with the productive capacity and efficiency of the economy, and embrace policies and programmes for investment in human and natural resources, in transportation and communication, in science and technology, and in regulating trade and commerce. I am not suggesting any exclusive power for the national government in these latter areas, but modern economic analysis points clearly to the fact that powers to act and to spend in all of them are essential elements in the promotion of economic growth.

The other broad field which has come strongly to the fore in more recent decades flows out of the relatively successful development of our economy and our substantially increased per capita income. We are, today, a relatively affluent society. Because of this we can pay serious attention to problems of distribution and redistribution. Here as well, in a manner not even dreamed of in 1867, the federal government believes there is a national responsibility to redistribute income, between persons and between provinces, in order to equalize opportunity among all Canadians. This, as we have pointed out, involves both the power to tax and the power to spend.

Finally there continues to be an important, if less easily defined role for the federal government in strengthening the bonds of nationhood and our sense of identity. Much of this appears in the realm of culture, communication and technological development. We reach out for this instinctively, if perhaps somewhat haltingly. The CBC, Expo '67, the

Canada Council, a national hockey team – and the earnest and serious attention now being given to the bilingual and bicultural nature of our country. "Cultural and technological developments across the country," we have said, "are as essential to nationhood today as tariffs and railways were one hundred years ago."

As for a broad view of the vital and integral role of the provinces – and of the powers which they must have to discharge that role – we have suggested the guiding principle that "most services involving the most immediate contact between the citizen and the government, and those which contribute most directly to the traditions and heritages which are uniquely provincial, should generally be provided by . . . provincial governments."

Again this is a widely-held view, which has come down to us in our present constitution. It implies strong provincial governments, with responsibility for education, and their own power to support cultural and technological development. It embraces the power to provide for the intimate personal services of health and welfare at the community level. It includes the major supervision of municipal services and institutions, including the huge metropolitan centres which inevitably attain a particular national stature.

We have said, further, that the provinces should continue to have the constitutional powers required to enable them to promote the development of their own economies. Our economic system itself, by its very nature, calls for decentralized decision-making and it is appropriate that growth and development should proceed as far as possible along decentralized lines. In this area, however, because of our essentially unified market economy, provincial policies will affect and be affected by national policies, and the problems of interaction come rapidly to the fore.

These problems are even more prominent, however, in defining the distribution of tax and fiscal powers appropriate to the broad division of responsibilities I have outlined. I need not remind you of the very lively debates on fiscal matters which have been going on for many years between the provincial and federal governments. But our concern has been to keep the problem in an appropriate constitutional context. It is, as I have said, an obverse side to the allocation of spending responsibilities. Enduring solutions to both questions are bound up together. However, we have pointed out that while the present constitution restricts the provinces to direct taxation, in fact the development and use of sales taxes by the provinces and their use of the income tax fields has enabled them, together with their municipalities, to raise almost one-half of all tax revenues in the country. In the search for constitutional solutions, therefore, we have suggested that an exact division of tax fields is not likely to be relevant in a rapidly changing society, and that it is probably most useful to think in terms of the principle of access to tax powers and tax fields in a reformed constitution.

Finally may I say a word about the process of interaction between federal and provincial governments. Such interaction is increasingly pervasive and is probably unavoidable under a federal system in a country and society such as ours. Certainly in responding to a variety of emerging needs across the country over the past two decades, the federal government has felt impelled to use its constitutional power to spend its money in areas of provincial jurisdiction in many diverse ways. But our present constitution gives no recognition to the problems which have arisen, and it was in this context that the Prime Minister spoke of the need for ground rules which would assist in defining the appropriate response of the federal government under any accepted division of powers. This is another, and far-reaching aspect of constitutional reform to be given searching study as we explore further all the ramifications of the vast, and complex challenge of constitutional reform upon which we are now clearly embarked.

Investment Companies Legislation

Although they attract less attention than the issues I have discussed so far, there are two other subjects I wish to discuss briefly.

In Parliament within the next few months, besides seeking approval for the remainder of our October budget proposals, we are putting forward a package of legislation dealing with financial institutions. The first, which was introduced in the Senate, is the Investment Companies Act which is designed to regulate and supervise certain types of federally incorporated financial institutions such as finance and acceptance-type companies, which at present are not subject to regulation in the way that banks, federal insurance companies, federal trust companies and federal mortgage loan companies are.

Because the bill is now in the Upper House I will confine my remarks to explaining the bill's objectives. Its need became apparent following the collapse of several companies of this type. Many investors suffered heavy losses, and on occasion, confidence in the stability of our financial institutions was shaken. Some of the financial institutions themselves have taken steps to improve the safety of investments by the public. Some provincial governments have tightened laws governing provincially incorporated companies of this sort. The Federal Government decided a federal law governing federally incorporated companies was also required.

It may not be generally recognized that certain of the financial companies whose collapse caused such concern were not engaged solely or even substantially in the business of making consumer-type loans. They were to a large extent using funds borrowed from the public to invest in other companies, some of them owned by the same group of shareholders who controlled the company borrowing the funds from the public. The true nature of the business of these companies was not always known by the investing public.

Accordingly the bill before Parliament does not confine its coverage to finance companies proper, but includes companies which borrow funds from the public and invest a substantial part of those funds in financial assets, including loans to other companies,

One of the problems that has plagued investors, the investment companies themselves and governments trying to protect the interests of investors is that very little is known about the patterns of investment of many of these companies. As Mr. Rasminsky pointed out the other day in a speech in Montreal our financial institutions are going through a period of rapid evolution. I share his general approval of this process of change. I believe that Canada will be better served as our financial institutions adapt themselves to new ways of channelling savings into productive investment. But the public can only invest their savings wisely if they know what they are doing. And governments can only protect the investing public sensibly if they know more about the nature of these new financial institutions. In some cases neither the investing public nor the governments concerned are sure whether a company is really a financial institution or whether it is essentially a segment of an integrated manufacturing or commercial operation.

The first objective of the bill is therefore to establish a system of regular reporting for companies which fall within a rather broad definition of investment companies. The reports required in the legislation will flow into the Department of Insurance, where they will be studied carefully. After the government feels that they have become familiar with the operations of these companies they would be in a position to make sensible regulations for the protection of the public. There would probably need to be different sets of regulations for different classes of companies.

The bill provides that the only rules which would be imposed immediately on the activities of these companies would limit their ability to invest funds in other companies in which their major shareholders, directors or officers had a substantial interest or to lend to their own major shareholders, directors or officers. These rules would be designed to ensure that the persons managing companies to which the public is entrusting their saving will be completely objective in deciding how these savings are to be invested.

As I have said, the bill dealing with this matter is before Parliament. It is currently being studied by a Senate Committee. That Committee is examining witnesses and receiving briefs. It will then decide whether to recommend modifications in the bill. I am sure the bill is capable of improvement. But I am equally sure that the basic objectives of the bill are sound and that its passage will provide better protection for the investing public and thereby greater public confidence in our financial institutions.

Commercial Policy

In the area of commercial policy, I expect that we shall be quite extensively involved in trying to maintain the momentum of progress towards further liberalization of international trade. The successful outcome of the Kennedy Round discussions represented a major step forward towards this goal which, for many years has been a prime objective of Canadian trade policy. We are determined to do all we can to ensure that there is no falling back from these achievements, and that the further expansion of world, and Canadian, trade is not jeopardized by restrictive action of any kind. Pressures for that type of action are evident in some quarters and we shall have to be constantly on guard against them as well as alert to all possibilities for further progress in this direction.

I expect we shall also be busy in the months ahead in trying to work out a solution to the very grave problem of the economic disparities between the developing and developed countries of the world. Last year we saw at least one major step in this direction when unanimous agreement was reached by all U.N. member countries that a non-reciprocal generalized scheme of tariff preferences should be established to provide developing countries with better access for their goods to the markets of the developed countries. We, along with other developed countries, are now engaged in working out a scheme of this kind for discussion with the developing countries later this year. We are still hoping that it will be possible to implement an arrangement of this kind in 1970, whatever the form it eventually takes. Like most tariff matters, this is a highly intricate exercise that requires a lot of careful thought and consideration in order to ensure that the scheme provides maximum benefits to developing countries without causing undue damage to Canadian firms and workers.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. R. Bredin Stapells, Q.C.

FEBRUARY 27, 1969

Manufacturing – Past, Present and Future

AN ADDRESS BY John Roche O'Dea,
PRESIDENT,
CANADIAN MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

In times gone by Canada was predominantly a nation of farmers and other primary producers, but our growth and progress have been based upon manufacturing, which not only sustains our numbers and our standard of living but takes Canada more and more into the market-places of the world. Leading Canadian manufacturers through a banner year is our honoured guest today, Mr. John Roche O'Dea.

Mr. O'Dea comes of a family long prominent in the business and public life of Newfoundland. His father was the Hon. John O'Dea and his brother was recently Lieutenant-Governor of the province, but his own interests have spanned the continent. He completed his education in Montreal and later married a lady from Vancouver. He sat in the House of Assembly from 1959 to 1962, and has also served on the St. John's School Board, the Memorial University Board, the Board of Trade and the Executive Committee of the Boy Scouts' Association. He was President of the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council from 1965, and a member of the Royal Commission on the Economic Prospects of Newfoundland and Labrador. But his great and most consuming interests have been the Company he heads and the Canadian Manufacturers Association, of which he has long been a leading member. This year he is its President and his duties take him from coast to coast. I present to you Mr. O'Dea.

MR. O'DEA:

I appreciate very much the honour of appearing on this distinguished platform. I know you have been host to many eminent speakers in your long history, some of them international figures of great renown. I do not know how long it has been since you have had a native Newfoundlander to address you – nor do I know what that would have been – although I suppose it would be a good guess that his first name would be Joey.

Coming as I do from Canada's tenth province, I suppose I am as much a traditionalist as anyone. By that I mean I am rather glad that, while there is no longer any Empire in the old-fashioned sense, there is still an Empire Club. Newfoundland, after all, was the very first of the overseas possessions of the Old Country and, just in case you don't know it, our ties with her reflect that fact with undiminished intensity.

If you will forgive a personal reference, I might also note that I am the first Newfoundlander to be president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in itself a source of no small pride to me. The CMA, of course, like the Empire Club, is hardly a recent addition to the Canadian scene; indeed, it had already been in existence some 32 years on that day in 1903 when the founders of your own august body met in Webb's restaurant in this city.

In other words, we in the CMA are on the brink of our centenary, an occasion on which we intend to make an appropriate acknowledgement of the role played by the manufacturing industry in changing the face of Canada since the birth of Confederation.

I hope you will not be in any sense disappointed if I say here that this role will to a large extent form the theme of my remarks to you today.

The story of Canada's growth and development from a four-province, infant dominion of three million people a century ago to a ten-province-strong nation of 21 million people today is in large measure also the story of the rise of the manufacturing industry.

I realize that this audience understands very well that the health of manufacturing is enormously important to the Canada of today, but, conscious as we are of the glittering contribution of our glamorous natural resources – our oil, our wheat, the products of our mines – we don't perhaps wholly grasp the full significance of the wealth added to our economy by our factory output. Allow me, then, to reel off a few basic and pertinent facts about what is now and has been for some years Canada's number one wealth-producing industry.

It directly employs one out of every four working Canadians and is the indirect source of livelihood for many more, for example the tens of thousands in the transportation and other service industries, and the many farmers whose products it buys for processing.

It is the leading industry in terms of net value of production in six of the ten provinces – Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick – and is beaten out for first place by a mere cat's whisker in Alberta and my own Newfoundland.

It accounts for more than a quarter of the gross domestic product – that is, the sum total of the goods and services we produce each year in Canada – a larger segment than any other single industry.

It accounts for fully 55% of the total net value of Canadian production measured in terms of commodities as distinct from services.

It is the largest single source of government revenue when both corporation income taxes and federal sales taxes are taken into account.

Its contribution to the Canadian economy is such that Canada now ranks sixth among the manufacturing nations of the world.

Such, gentlemen, are the essential facts about the industrial giant which Canada is today. I recite them because I think they serve dramatically to underline the extent to which we have progressed beyond a frontier economy producing foodstuffs and the raw materials for the factories of other nations.

Hardly less important, they serve to remind us, too, that manufacturing today is very far from being important only to Ontario and Quebec. Its impact, as I have shown, is truly national.

Because the future of Canada is so closely bound up with the wellbeing of the manufacturing industry, it is worth perhaps taking a look at how we have arrived at our present situation and speculating on the future goals which motivate our present day actions.

"The times, they are a-changing," as a current pop song has it, and certainly the world looks very different as we approach the seventh decade of the 20th Century than it did when Sir John A. Macdonald won his second term as Prime Minister of Canada on the platform of the National Policy.

It's fair to say, I think, that this policy, supported by Conservative and Liberal governments alike, has been the bedrock on which manufacturing in this country has been built. It survived several serious challenges, the most famous of which was the reciprocity election of 1911.

Looking back, one can only speculate as to where Canada would be today if the National Policy had been abandoned in the early formative years of our development. Certainly, it provided the incentive to establish factories this side of the border, small and scattered as the market was.

And, beyond any question, it provided, too, the only effective counterweight to the natural north-south pull of continental trade.

It is hard to visualize Canada today without its great steel industry, its automobile industry, its textile, electrical and chemical industries, to mention but a few. But one may well wonder if these industries would ever have been built north of the 49th Parallel had the Canadians of the day succumbed to the lure of free trade and cheaper living.

It may be that we today would be no less prosperous as a people and that our economy would be no less developed, but at the very least we must count that highly doubtful. What is not in any doubt at all is that the National Policy of adequate tariffs for our industries through these first decades of Canadian nationhood provided the economic justification for the maintenance of our political sovereignty. There are still many of us, I think, who would not have it otherwise.

I shall pass quickly over the tremendous fillip given to Canadian industrial production by the two great world wars, except to say that the new and expanded industries born here as a result of these two cataclysms provided much of the impetus and sinew for the stronger economy which emerged in both 1918 and 1945.

But it is in the past quarter century or so that the manufacturing industry has really come of age and achieved unquestioned pre-eminence in the Canadian economy. The discovery of oil and natural gas, of new rich iron ore and base metal deposits, the construction of pipe lines and highways and railways, the demands of municipal and educational growth in the wake of our transformation into a society in which 80% of the people live in the cities, our burgeoning population – helped, I might modestly note, by the entry of Newfoundland into Confederation in 1949 – the sustained and rising consumer demand for goods and services, which are the concomitants of prosperity, and our inexhaustible appetite for more housing, apartments, shopping plazas, office blocks and public buildings of every shape and size –

all these are within our own experience. I mention them merely to recall the factors which have made for the most spectacular expansion and diversification of the manufacturing industry that we have ever known in so short a period of time. And, of course, it goes without saying that the industry is to the forefront in the rapid adaptation of new technology and innovation.

Yet even this is but half the story. For, as we all know, much of our postwar prosperity is explained by the marked increase in world trade which has not only been good for our natural resource exports but has also resulted in sales of fully finished goods beyond all our expectations. How many Canadians realize, I wonder, that such factory goods now account for more than one quarter of our total foreign sales, by far the largest chunk of our entire export pie?

It's a salutory corrective to some of the lamentations in which manufacturers, along with everyone else these days, are apt to indulge to realize that nearly all the problems we face are problems of growth and change. Our predecessors were not always so fortunate. They didn't have to contend with the twin menaces of rising inflation and high taxes as we know them, but then neither were they witnesses to the kind of accelerating economic development, mass prosperity and rapidly rising living standards which have been characteristic of the past two decades.

I am the last one to minimize the very serious implications of current tax levels and the inflationary psychology which permeates our whole economic existence at this time and which, if not checked, could certainly becloud our future. All the same, it's worth remembering we faced problems of a different kind altogether 35 years ago and none of us here, I am sure, wish to return to those days.

The point is that, while the problems of today are a whole lot different, we do know quite a bit more than we used to about social engineering and have made some progress in our search for solutions. Granted, we haven't come up with a formula for permanent prosperity without inflation and high taxation and may never do so, but, after eight uninterrupted years of strong North American expansion, we should surely not be excessively pessimistic about our ability to cope with what ails us.

After all, the greatest single economic fact of the Sixties has been the incredible rate at which we in North America have been adding to our wealth. The United States' gross national product was massive enough in all conscience when President Eisenhower left office eight years ago. Since then it has risen year by year at a dizzying rate to a point where the trillion dollar economy is just around the corner. Our own GNP performance has been in proportion and hardly less impressive.

Making every allowance for higher prices, it is still a staggering record and a breath-taking testimony to the potential of free men in a modern industrial society. And, I say again, it should surely help us keep our problems in proportion. All this, and the moon, too!

The problems of change, unlike those of growth, are a constant factor in our business life. We sometimes forget that our fathers and grandfathers had also, in their time, to adapt to change. The impact of the telegraph cable, the telephone, the electric light and the new-fangled typewriter, the internal combustion engine and the early prototypes of today's industrial plant and equipment was hardly insignificant. Certainly, the survival of the industrialists of two and three generations ago depended on the extent to which they, too, moved with the times.

The big difference between then and now, of course, is in the accelerated pace of change and in the infinitely stiffer challenge inherent in anticipating the rate and nature of technological advance. These particular challenges, combined with the harsher disciplines of the international marketplace to which we have increasingly committed ourselves and the necessity of creating new jobs as the work force expands, have required of industry and government in this country a degree of investment in capital equipment and education beyond anything which our grandfathers could possibly have comprehended.

This kind of colossal outlay in itself, along with the ever more sophisticated changes in business methodology, has inevitably taken its toll of those who were either unwilling or unable to meet it. More and more, the spotlight has focused on achievements of the great corporations of industry whose huge resources best fit them to respond to the needs of our changing times.

And yet, the marvellous thing is that, with all this, there are today more small businesses in Canada than there ever were before, many of them of quite recent origin. That, too, says something about the opportunities still to be found in an industrial society which, while more complex and exacting than ever before, is still a long way from being monopolized by the giants of industry and commerce.

And all this, remember, at a time of diminishing tariff protection and a greater degree of foreign competition in our home market than ever before in our history! The extent to which our manufacturers have accepted and adapted themselves to this new postwar world of less protection and freer trade is eloquent testimony to our own growing sense of industrial maturity and self-confidence.

Another major change affecting industry these past two decades has to do with its relations with the community as a whole. The social responsibilities of industry are recognized today to be much broader and far-reaching than was the case in the years between the two great wars. Intelligent corporate management will understand that a company's social obligations extend beyond being a good employer, important and fundamental as that is. There is more to this than the multiplicity of laws, rules and regulations and the rise of big government. Any company wishing to prosper in an age of educated consumers, a watchful press, the all-seeing eye of television and powerful unions will automatically have a healthy respect for public opinion.

The competition between companies to show themselves as socially conscious and publicly accountable institutions has grown apace and will certainly continue to do so. Good corporate citizenship, in other words, while it begins with the earning of a profit does not end there.

The challenge to industrial management in the next 30 years – even more than in the last – will have to do not only with improving efficiency and quality and range of products, but with improving human relations and the quality of life of all of us in our time.

Not all of us can expect to see the dawn of the 21st Century, but many here may very well have an influence on the course of events between now and then and we have, in any event, a natural interest in the kind of country and society that we bequeath to those who follow us.

As I have noted, the problems and challenges confronting manufacturers have greatly altered in the past generation or so and no doubt will alter again in the course of the final three decades of the century as we head into the push-button, small change society that lies ahead.

Some of these challenges are not yet apparent, but I suspect we will not be far wrong in according rising importance to the challenge of social responsibilities, as I have mentioned. Many of our social problems, after all, are going to continue to be the product of ever-increasing urbanization.

To date, business involvement in the solution of such problems as urban renewal, improved transportation within the cities, air and water contamination, rehabilitation of slum dwellers, school dropouts, juvenile delinquency and so on has been relatively peripheral. The time may well be coming when not only industry's money but its management and technical skills will be called upon to play a more significant role in dealing with such social problems.

All this may seem far removed from the primary objective of any company, which is the earning of a profit by the provision of needed goods or services. In fact, however, in the years ahead, such social involvement is all too likely to be seen by industry as a logical extension of earning a corporate living.

All of this will be a far cry from what was expected of industry in the uncomplicated days of Sir John A. Macdonald, but, looking back, as the president of the Canadian Manufacturers Association, at the extent to which industry has succeeded in meeting the various problems and challenges of the past century, I do not find the prospect either surprising or disturbing.

I am confident, in short, of the ability of Canada's manufacturing industry to respond to the gauntlet of our future needs and, as in the past, add significantly to the advancement, happiness and prosperity of our people.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. Graham M. Gore.

MARCH 6, 1969

The Coming Revolution in Telecommunications

AN ADDRESS BY Robert C. Scrivener,
PRESIDENT,
BELL TELEPHONE CO. OF CANADA

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

On March 25th, 1878, only two years after applying for his patent, Alexander Graham Bell made a bold prediction which might be called the charter of modern telecommunications. He said: "It is conceivable that cables of telephone wires could be hid underground, or suspended overhead, communicating by branch wires with private dwellings, country houses, shops, manufacturers, etc. etc., uniting them through the main cable with a central office where the wires could be connected as desired, establishing direct communication between any two places in the city. Such a plan as this, though impractical at the present moment will, I firmly believe, be the outcome of the introduction of the telephone to the public. Not only so, but I believe, in the future, wires will unite the head offices of the telephone company in different cities, and a man in one part of the country may communicate by word of mouth with another in a distant place. I am aware that such ideas may appear to you Utopian . . ."

Utopian or otherwise, Canada paid heed to Bell. By last count, Canadians were making more calls a year than any other country – about 680 per capita. To some, this is not an unmixed blessing. Ogden Nash complained:

"Some one invented the telephone,
And interrupted a nation's slumbers,
Ringing wrong but similar numbers."

And Sir Alan Herbert told the British House of Commons:

"Great science nobly laboured to increase the people's joys,
But every new invention seemed to add another noise;
One was always on the telephone or answering the bell,
And everybody wondered why the population fell."

Since August, 1968, our distinguished guest of today has been President of Bell Canada, our largest company. After graduating from the University of Toronto in Modern History, he joined Bell in 1937 and rose rapidly through operating and staff management positions in Brantford, Hamilton, Windsor, Ottawa and Montreal, becoming Executive Vice-President in 1965.

Mr. Scrivener is a director of other companies and he has distinguished himself in public service, notably on behalf of United Appeals, the Montreal Theological College and the Royal Victoria Hospital. Under his leadership pioneer work continues toward another revolution in communications. Mr. Robert Carlton Scrivener.

MR. SCRIVENER:

For many years the Empire Club has provided a public forum of national and historical importance. I greatly value this opportunity to appear before you, especially as I was born in Toronto and have lived here as a boy, a student and a business man at different times for a total of some twenty-five years. I recall well twenty years ago the far-sighted developments which led to Fred Gardiner's great contribution in the creation of Metropolitan Toronto as an effective and constructive organization.

It is easy for me, one who knows greater Toronto, to observe and be impressed by the growth and vitality everywhere I go. Toronto is not the only metropolitan area in Canada where there are many and massive signs of expansion, but it undoubtedly has the most extensive evidence of new construction which reflect Toronto's economic leadership.

Toronto has a key role in Canada because of its position as the major centre of industry, commerce and finance, as a throbbing metropolis to which Ontario's and Canada's futures are hinged.

In the recent Federal-Provincial conferences it is evident that Ontario has assumed a place of leadership not by insisting on its own interests to the exclusion of others, but by cleary indicating its breadth of vision for all of Canada. This is the face of Toronto that the rest of the country should understand better, its concern for national unity, regional disparities and urban megalopolis problems. Success always creates resentments and the responsibilities of success trancend the fact that you won't be thanked. Don't be discouraged or over react to your critics, whatever their motives. Canada needs, must have, Toronto's type of activism, the involvement of constructive achievement and not that of imported anarchists and divisive elements.

In 1967, many of you thrilled with all of Canada to the excitement of Expo. That the promise of that effort has not been fulfilled is very disappointing to all of us. Just at the time we started to see real progress in integrating some of the different viewpoints in Canada, just as our leaders were giving us some reason to be encouraged we have seen outbreaks of savage violence. These acts of destruction have at least had the effect of shocking Canadians into realizing that trained revolutionaries under organized direction have been taking advantage of the great Canadian language and culture debate. We cannot afford to be naive about this and

I sincerely wish that the authorities with knowledge would better inform the Canadian public of what they know and what they suspect.

In addition to my years in Toronto, I have as student and businessman lived almost as many years in Montreal. It is my good fortune to travel widely throughout Quebec and to talk the language of the majority there. Without this double background of knowing both provinces it is very difficult to understand, sense and evaluate the tremendous change taking place in your neighbouring province. Rapid evolution comes close to revolution yet I can assure you and can cite the words of leaders in Quebec from all sides to indicate their complete repudiation of acts of violence or of political rupture. Let me deal with one aspect only of this rapid and all embracing change.

The educational system in Quebec is being completely rebuilt at all levels. It is being brought forward 50 years in 5. Involved are the government, the teachers and professors, students and parents. It will be another five years before the education system in Quebec will take its fully modern form and before the full impact of this revitalization will start to be felt. This period is bound to be upsetting, of traditional approaches and power centres. It is releasing new views, new energies and is producing great debate. It is turning loose a completely new generation with modern desires.

Education is the main-spring of progress and Quebec is setting up a system which, when applied to its young people, will produce the greatest new outpouring of modernly trained talent in Canada's history. Ontario is used to this. This Quebec talent will not be, cannot be, confined within provincial boundaries but will be found in business, professions and schools throughout the country.

Can there be anything more constructive than this? Don't be confused by the screeching and violence of extremists. They represent an ever present element of rapid change but not the long run basic goals or purpose of the majority. Canada has great need for more and better managers and Quebec will produce more than its share in the next generation.

Managing our economy will require greater attention from those who create wealth than from those who specialize in spending it. We are now trying to cope with the aftermath of the great governmental spenders, spending unrelated to our ability to pay, the result, a frightening taste of inflation. Inflation robs all of us by destroying the value of our investments, our savings, our insurance, our pensions, our wages and salaries. It hurts the little man, the worker more than anyone else.

Spend, spend, spend and tax, tax, tax is NOT an acceptable philosophy. Today's governments are paying a heavy price for the massive forward commitments of their predecessors but this does not relieve them of responsibility for the belt tightening necessary for correction. Yet, failure to really check and control inflation now will erode all our gains and eventually require even more Draconian measures that would drastically slow the growth of the economy.

Frankly I'm on the side of those who believe that balancing income and out-go has merit. You might say my economics are closer to those of Macawber than to those of Keynes. Utilities are particularly sensitive to inflation and its effects because of their huge fixed investments and their continuing need for capital. We know well that inflation can defeat our best efforts to improve service and lower prices. It isn't just our view that any deterioration of telecommunications will act as a serious brake on Canada's progress.

Today's economy and that of tomorrow will possibly be called the electronic era. Canadians take for granted the fact that they have a telecommunications network equal to the best in the world and tó use it costs less than in any other country in the world. This network is the result of the far sighted cooperative effort of the carriers. This network is a fundamental and essential requirement of Canada's future progress – today it is unexcelled in the world in quality, scope and reliability. Let us not lightly consider actions which can destroy what has brought this about voluntarily and cooperatively by the telecommunications companies of Canada and without, may I add, any subsidy, and without internal or inter-provincial squabbles and name calling. It has been done quietly, effectively and harmoniously. This is so unusual, it's not surprising that it hasn't received the notice it deserves.

The network is used for talking, for interconnecting electronic machines, for television and radio networks and for national defence. Tomorrow we will use it for many new applications involving completely instantaneous interconnections of people and machines by voice, digital data, and pictures. Telecommunications are the life lines of the wired city and tomorrow's global village.

A highly sophisticated telecommunications network is an essential ingredient of national growth and prosperity and to this end, the industry has publicly stated its principles and purpose.

I'd like to outline the key points in our telecommunications policy – to state them publicly for you to hear.

1. Canada is a widely dispersed country. The telecommunications network must reflect local judgements. The flexibility in planning using efficiently the most economical of the best in modern technology must provide a reliable network not vulnerable to natural or other hazards. Local systems cooperating together will provide a truly national network.
2. Modern up-to-date service must be available when required and where required and must be reliable and free from flaws and defects in quality as judged by its users. Privacy has to be an essential ingredient of telecommunications and the right to use the network is an extension of the right of free speech.
3. The whole network must not only be integrated and compatible within Canada but also with the North

American continental network and with the rest of the world. This compatibility has to be based on far sighted overall system planning, on detailed component standardization, on coordinated timing by specially trained engineers and managers cooperating with one another and with the other countries.

4. The telecommunication carriers and regulation must protect the network against electronic pollution and degradation caused by attaching to it apparatus which may benefit a few at the expense of the majority and which can prevent the optimum service and economic development of the network.
5. Despite all the technological complexities the system must be instantly available and easy to use and the costs of use must be such as to promote and encourage maximum development of all services so that service is truly universal and its use not restricted. Leadership in innovation and productivity is the basis for achieving this growth.
6. Planning must anticipate growth and demand and the need to modernize so that the facilities you will require are available in advance. This requires forward commitment of much capital and resources. It means taking substantial risks. It is the responsibility of telecommunications management to avoid mistakes of omission or commission which would penalize the public or investors.
7. Anticipating the total environment in the planning and the creation and management of this telecommunications system requires many skills, many disciplines and great dedication. The rewards and challenges must attract the best people and they must be encouraged and trained to get better and better so that Canada will always be a world leader in telecommunications.
8. The total effort should be primarily Canadian in its direction, in its research and development, in the

equipment it uses and in the operation of the companies so that it represents a Canadian achievement in the interests of Canada. This doesn't mean turning our backs on skills, knowledge or money from outside the country but it means we should use them to enhance and improve our own situation and control.

9. Relations with labour and its representatives have to be based on mutual respect and trust so that continuing complete discussions of current and future affairs develop the necessary common goals, the earned rewards, the personal satisfactions and the pride that come from creative performance.
10. Regulation of basic telecommunications is required in the public interest to verify that our responsibilities have been discharged in relation to both the quality and value of service. Regulation will serve best to the extent that it motivates, encourages and rewards performance today and looks ahead anticipating and preparing for what has to be done tomorrow. The public interest is served by obtaining the commitment of workers, management and investors who themselves are all entitled to fair treatment for their contribution to customer service and productivity.
11. The savings of thousands of Canadians and those of other productive people in many countries will have to be invested in huge amounts to develop this essential network. The ability to attract this capital and to adequately reward it is the cornerstone of the financial responsibility of the industry. The industry must so conduct itself and regulation must be so directed that this capital will be attracted and rewarded in order to provide the service required by the Canadian public.

The communications companies of Canada have produced dramatic results while making very few headlines. There are several parts to this industry. The eight major provincial telephone systems including Bell provide most of the local communications service. In addition, there are some two hundred smaller telephone companies which connect to the major systems. The eight major systems work together as the Trans-Canada Telephone System to provide the interprovincial and national network which you can use without being in the least aware that your call passes over the lines and through the offices of several companies. The Trans-Canada Telephone System owns no facilities itself. It is a voluntary association to develop plans and standards and to assure Canada of a vast network based on integrating the services of the local systems. There is also the separate and competitive system of the railways, CN-CP Telecommunications which specializes in telegraph and special services. Finally there is the Canadian Overseas Telecommunications Corporation which as a federal crown corporation is Canada's overseas telecommunications carrier. Does it not surprise you that all these organizations work so well together, have resolved their own differences, have been able to find solutions which integrated and strengthened their combined efforts to the benefit of the public.

This network works because the general interest is paramount. The carriers are charged with responsibility to serve. They are subject to regulation to assure that they give value. The carriers are naturally anxious to maximize the use of the network but they must be sure that no user can damage the service or increase the costs of others for his own advantage.

Many electronic devices are being and will be developed to generate and receive signals over the network, many businesses will grow up based on use of the network for pictures, digital data and voices in factories, offices and homes. This is the use the network is intended to serve.

In order that it may do so, it must be maintained and extended with complete compatibility. It is a most complex system where minute electrical signals travelling at the speed of light, control and direct its functioning. It is constantly and continuously being enlarged and improved. The value of the network therefore rests on retaining its high quality and making it available to all who wish to use it. No one user or group of users should be given unfair advantage or be permitted to use the network for their benefit but to the detriment of or at the expense of others.

To accomplish this there must be rules of use and rules governing what is attached to the network. The carriers have the responsibility for developing and administering these rules under regulation. To avoid electronic pollution and degradation of the network, the signalling devices, the strength of the electrical signals and the electronic characteristics of the equipment connected are best provided by the carriers or connected through protective devices of the carriers. For a system as delicate, extensive, intricate and complex as the telecommunications network, divided responsibility for quality and maintenance would cause not only confusion but duplication and degradation leading to poorer service and higher costs to the user.

Use of the network is an extension of our use of speech and as such, is entitled to all the rights and responsibilities of free speech in a democracy. Use of the network must then be governed by the same limits the parliaments we elect set on freedom of speech. The carriers, again under regulation, cooperate with law enforcement agencies so that these agencies can carry out their responsibility to enforce parliaments laws.

We have made representations to Ottawa about such matters as wire tapping and offensive usages. At no time should the telephone company act as a law enforcement agency, nor should it ever presume to substitute its judgement in this area for that of the elected representatives of all the people.

Any enterprise, public or private, which has the monopoly responsibility for an important public service should properly be subject to regulation by a suitable government agency. I would apply this approach to the autonomous crown corporation which has monopolistic characteristics as well as to the private company. However, there is no valid argument for extending such regulation beyond those services which are truly basic and monopolistic. The theory of regulation is that a substitute for market place competition is required for basic public utility services.

The three parties interested in any regulated enterprise are the user who wants quality service at low cost, the employee who wants job satisfaction and high wages, and the investor who wants security and reward, for his savings, equal to comparable investment opportunities.

All three have to be rewarded to their satisfaction or they will not cooperate. So regulation has the responsibility for being forward looking because of the rapidity of technological change and because all parties interested are far more concerned for the future than for the past. Regulation should be searching but its purpose must be to establish the conditions under which Canada's electronic highways and telecommunication network will always be the best in the world and available at the lowest cost in the world. Surely this objective justifies the best treatment of investors who contribute their savings in such large amounts.

To attract investors to place their savings in the securities of a public utility requires that there be a clear statement of objectives by the utility and by regulation. The initiative rests with the utility.

We have stated our objective of earning sufficiently on the total capital invested in the business to permit rewarding our shareholders in a manner that compares favourably with opportunities in comparable securities. We have set out to do this and will take all steps necessary to succeed.

We have enough of negative thinking which results in limiting the opportunities for the private tax-paying sector and expanding those of the tax-spending public sector. The job at hand is to motivate, to offer rewards so that individual and group initiative is discovered and encouraged.

Let us all focus on the building up not the tearing down. Let's shake our Canadian inferiority complexes and set out to compete and win against the best in the world. Torontonians have the experience and the resources to lead in the positive approach. Give the rest of the country this lead. The country needs you and you need a united Canada.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. A. J. Langley.

MARCH 13, 1969

British Economy on the Move – Encouraging Trends

AN ADDRESS BY Sir Colin Crowe, K.C.M.G.
BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER IN CANADA

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

In the long history of this Club, we have often heard speakers from the sceptered isle, including some of those who – in Britain's finest hour – stood almost alone in defence of freedom and the free world. They are always welcome, not only for their personal qualities but because of the very real kinship between The Empire Club and the British tradition. This Club does not forget that our inheritance is "something of value."

There is not only a gap between the older generation and young people in most countries today. There are also certain gaps between the oldest and the youngest members of the Commonwealth. There are new bridges to be built as well as old bridges to be repaired and maintained. This is a fact which gives special importance to those envoys known as High Commissioners, the men who interpret members of the Commonwealth to each other, as our Governor-General did in New Delhi for some years, and as Sir Colin Crowe does in Ottawa today.

Our distinguished guest (a son of Sir Edward Crowe), on completing his education at Oxford, joined the British Diplomatic Service. He served at Peking from 1936 to 1938, at Shanghai from 1938 to 1940, at Washington from 1940 to 1945, and at the Foreign Office in London from 1945 to 1948 and 1953 to 1956. He was at Paris in 1948-1949, Tel Aviv 1949-1950, the Imperial Defence College 1957, and the Britain Property Commission, Cairo, 1959; Chargé at Cairo 1959-1961, Deputy U.K. Representative to the U.N. 1961-1968; Ambassador to Saudi Arabia 1963-1964. He served as Chief of Administration in H.M. Diplomatic Service from September 1965 to August 1968. Not forgetting Oxford, he is a Fellow of St. Antony's College. Although Sir Colin Crowe took up his appointment in Ottawa only a few months ago, it is clear that no envoy has wider or more varied experience in diplomacy and administration. I have the honour to introduce the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada, Sir Colin Crowe.

SIR COLIN CROWE:

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Roy Jenkins, addressed the Empire Club on 4 October last year. He spoke to you very largely about international monetary cooperation since he had come straight from the meetings of the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) and the International Bank. But he also told you something about what was being done in Britain. Since then we have had another international monetary crisis – not the fault of the British I hasten to add, but which has had repercussions upon us all the same. Indeed this crisis bears out one of the major lessons that Mr. Jenkins was at pains to make, namely that in this twentieth century, for the developed industrial world at least, prosperity is indivisible, probably as much if not more than peace. Time and time again, he said, we have seen the actions of one country exercise direct and unavoidable influence on the economic conditions of the rest of the world. Similarly, no country's economy, and particularly not the economy of a developed country, can be isolated from what goes on elsewhere. But this is something that you in Toronto know very well.

The title of my address is I am afraid rather pedestrian, not to say corny. But I make no apology for it because I am not going to stimulate you with fireworks or take your breath away with startling new developments, but I propose to try to paint you a picture of what is actually going on in Britain – a picture of steady, undramatic and painstaking effort. And I want to talk about Britain because I think it is really important that you in modern Canada and we in modern Britain should know each other as we really are, and not in stereotypes or fixed images which at the best distort and blur the picture and at the worst can lead to real misunderstanding and wrong decisions. As I said recently – indeed it was the theme of a speech I made the other day – I believe we are apt to take each other too much for granted: we are in danger of thinking that we know all about the other when in fact the reality has moved on.

I must confess that I have been somewhat bothered on certain occasions in Canada by a tendency to write down Britain, almost indeed to write off Britain. It is an unrewarding exercise. It has been tried before in the recent, and even the remoter, past and the answer it produces is always wrong. It is often done not out of ill-will but sometimes out of too much goodwill, a pitching of expectations too high, a looking for a past which sometimes never existed. Whatever the causes it leads to misunderstanding and a misunderstanding we must try to clear up.

I shall be telling you about what we are doing in Britain today. But if the steps we are taking and the progress we are making are to be properly understood I think one must go back to take a quick look at the immediate post war position.

The war affected Britain worse than almost anybody else – worse than Germany, Japan or Russia, whose economies perhaps suffered more material damage. We came out on the winning side, but we had fought ourselves to a standstill. Our industry was disoriented, our resources had gone and we had a pile of debts instead of substantial overseas investments. But there was another decisive reason why we were faced with difficulties not shared with other nations, some on the winning, some on the losing side. It is that the war made the world more difficult for us than for anybody else. The fact is not that Britain has failed to adjust to a changing world, but that we had a great many more adjustments than anybody else.

One major element in this adjustment was the fact that we now have to depend upon competitive exports for practically our whole livelihood. Before the war we had of course much the same kind of expenditure abroad as we have now. But then we had a substantial income from extensive investments overseas. During the war we had to sell some $3 billion worth of our overseas investments and instead accumulated something of the order of over $8 billion worth of debts. All this to fight a war. Before the war our exports paid for about half of our imports. Now they have to pay for something like 90% of them. And we are a country which does not, like Canada, have vast natural resources of raw materials, minerals, forests and wheatlands. We have to import 90% of our raw materials and 50% of our food. We depend for our existence on our ability to sell in the competitive markets of the world, on our technological know-how and on our manufacturing skill.

At the end of the war we also had immense obligations all over the world. The process of freeing our dependencies, the process by which we launched one quarter of the world's population into independence, took time and money and human resources. We tried to start the new nations off with viable economies and viable governments. Considering the difficulties it was an extraordinary achievement and now today you have the modern Commonwealth. I am not going to talk about the Commonwealth here today, but it is in fact a very remarkable and unique association of 28 independent countries of all sizes, colours, creeds and stages of development who, as the January meeting of Prime Ministers showed, can discuss their problems among themselves in a completely open and easy manner which no other world-wide grouping of nations can do.

But all this meant that we had defence commitments all over the world. We had a sort of policeman's role. It was peace keeping. And we did it well. But it was expensive, it imposed a continuous strain on our balance of payments and it could not go on. Hence our decisions last year to withdraw from East of Suez and the Persian Gulf by 1971.

These external commitments diverted resources and money which we would have preferred to spend to our own more immediate benefit at home. And we had a major job at home in the restructuring and reorganizing of industry, in the re-settlement of labour and redevelopment of large areas where the old industries from the nineteenth century had been concentrated, i.e. the coal mines and the shipyards and the textile mills, in South Wales and the north-east of England and in southern Scotland. And we had to switch our main effort into export markets. We had to do all this, moreover, with a currency which was used by one half of the world's traders. As I pointed out at the beginning, no country can isolate itself from the world, but the wide use of sterling in international trade meant that we were particularly susceptible to waves of crisis and lack of confidence in any part of the world about almost any subject and there have been quite sufficient number of crises in all parts of the world over these past twenty years.

All right, you may say. So it has been tough, but you are not interested in the past. You want to know what we have done about it and are going to do about it *now*. The answer is – plenty.

There was the devaluation of the pound, there was a major decision to reduce our defence commitments and expenditure and to withdraw from East of Suez by 1971, concentrating our major defence effort on Europe. There was the severe brake on public expenditure. There was the fierce domestic budget of a year ago. And more recently there was the import deposit scheme in order to check imports and restrain consumer demand. There was a prices and incomes policy such as no other country in the world has been able to develop. We have of course also taken positive measures to restructure, reorganize and re-equip our industries, our docks and our transportation system and to encourage exports. In my previous job in London I was on the management side of the Diplomatic Service – which is one of our institutions which has been reorganized from top to bottom – and I can assure you that this is the case. There is a continuous questioning of accepted attitudes, a searching for better ways of doing things and a new attitude to management. I think it is fair to say that broadly speaking we have now got our commitments and our capacities much more into harmony. Of course it all takes time. An elaborate, complicated, modern economy cannot be turned around by the flick of a switch or the drafting of a plan.

But to expand a bit on these various measures that we have taken. There is, first of all, defence. Thanks to these new measures, in his recent new defence proposals last month, Mr. Healey, the Defence Secretary, was able to show not only that he had been able to make savings on our defence budget, which in these days of rising prices is a very remarkable thing to be able to do at all, but, at the same time, and this is even more remarkable, to be able to improve our contribution to European defence in NATO and to play a major part in the strengthening of NATO forces that was made necessary by the Czechoslovak crisis last summer. Even after 1971 we will still retain a capability to operate in any part of the world but the main emphasis will be in Europe. Of our 413,000 men under arms, all of them volunteers, over 75% are based on the mainland of Europe or in the U.K. and most of those in Britain are firmly committed to NATO.

We dare not skimp on this and we still spend 6% of our gross national product on defence. For the heart of our security lies in Europe and the North Atlantic area and it is NATO that provides our protection. You must remember that among the difficulties that I described and which have led to such a strain on our resources for the past generation, there has been the threat from the Soviet Union that has loomed over Western Europe, and indeed the world. From the Berlin blockade to the first communist takeover in Czechoslovakia twenty years ago and to the crisis of last summer, it was NATO that held the line and it is NATO that still does. It is the only means by which we may be able to achieve in due course a *detente* with the Russians.

But to turn to the economic front, and that is what our livelihood depends on. If we are going to get out of the red and repay our debts as we shall, we have got to do it by exports and, given the loss of our investments, though we do still have certain considerable ones abroad, we shall have to do it mostly by an increase in our visible trade. And we have got to do this on a long term basis. The projection as of now is that we shall need to achieve a balance of payments surplus annually of the order of £500 million, i.e. $1,300 million. Out of this some £300 million plus or minus must come from the balance of visible trade. This is quite a target but we think we can do it. It will mean an increase of something like 5½-7% in the growth of the volume of our exports. We reckon that in the ordinary course of events the growth of world trade and the expansion of our exports to fast growing markets should produce about 4% a year, but on top of this, with devaluation and additional export effort, we should be able to produce the extra 2-3%.

Much of this of course will depend upon the continued expansion of world trade which, in manufactures, continues to expand at around 8% per annum.

How far are we getting towards this target? There is quite a way to go but things are moving in the right direction. Unfortunately some misguided enthusiasts in London started some years ago to produce British export and import figures every month. I suppose they thought this helped people to keep their finger on the pulse of events. These monthly figures have become a positively harmful factor. There are always special features in any one month's figures. If too much attention is paid to them people are unnecessarily cast down by one month's bad figures but equally get too excited by one month's good figures. One has to see what the trend is doing. And here the trend is very encouraging. On the basis of a three month moving average, a deficit of visible trade of $223 million for May last year had been halved by December, and then very nearly halved again in January. Indeed, in January, on our overall balance of payments account, we were slightly in surplus. We are not by any means out of the wood yet, but this is very encouraging.

This has been based, broadly speaking, on an increase of about 11% of our exports in volume and we have started getting back a greater share of world trade. To Canada, with which we are immediately concerned, the picture I am glad to say is also very encouraging. Our exports last year rose from $618 million in 1967 to $673 million, an increase of some $55½ million. In terms of volume our exports were 11% up.

And you yourselves have not done so badly. Indeed I venture to say that you have done rather better, since your own exports to Britain went up by some 13.8% over 1967 to $1,333 million.

It is very difficult to keep figures in one's head when read out, but I think you will agree that those I have recited show a very serious imbalance in the trade between our two countries. It is not my purpose to discuss this here today – it is a very big subject. But it is very much my purpose and my job and will be all the time that I am here to get this imbalance straightened out so far as we possibly can. We must increase our exports so far as we possibly can to this rich and expanding market and bring our accounts into better balance.

Increases in exports, of course, require that necessary action should be taken domestically and there has been a great deal going on in Britain. There has been a great deal in the press about the British public indulging in a spending spree, a lot of which has been grossly exaggerated. As you yourselves will know, in an expanding economy with increasing productivity, it is extremely difficult to persuade workers and people generally not to spend what they have earned from the increased productivity that they have brought about. People want more and I think it is fair to say that it is very largely the business of business to persuade them precisely that more is what they want. What, after all are advertising campaigns about. Nevertheless, by heavy taxation, restraint of credit and import deposit schemes we have succeeded in holding down the increase in personal consumption to only 1% in 1967/68. That is, I venture to suggest, a very remarkable achievement. In earlier periods of relatively fast growth in 1958/59 and in 1962/63, our experience was that consumer expenditure grew much faster than exports. This is a trend which I am glad to say we have reversed and the growth of our economy last year was export-led. There are therefore real grounds to suppose that devaluation and the other measures we have taken are bringing about the essential structural changes in our economy.

We have also, and this is very important indeed, succeeded in checking the expansion of Government expenditure. There is a certain tendency to equate Government expenditure entirely with bureaucracy and to think that it merely consists of employing more and more civil servants, but of course it is also extremely productive and in Britain at any rate means roads, schools, and hospitals among other things. We expect, however, to hold Government expenditure back to an increase of only 1% in 1969/70 which is well within the projected growth of the economy as a whole; to only 2% in 1970/71 and thereafter it will still be inside the planned expansion of output. I think this can compare with the record of any Government in the world.

I am afraid I have been giving you rather a lot of statistics, and general economic trends are dull things, but you must remember that behind all this are men and women working their way through a period of exceptional strains and stresses. The British people after the last war were determined that they would build for themselves in their country a better society, with wider opportunities for all, where people would not be destroyed by old age or medical costs.

There really has been a social revolution in England. It covers nearly every aspect of our national life but in no field have there been greater or more important changes than in new attitudes to management that have developed and in the expansion of education. It is now the case in England that any student, boy or girl, whatever his family background or income, can reach any rung on the educational ladder by brains and ability alone. I sometimes feel there is too much of a tendency in Canada, and in the media generally, when commenting on Britain to concentrate too much on what is trivial, on Carnaby Street and the miniskirt without seeing what they represent in terms of idealism, of desires for reform to change and better the world. Your own young people feel the same way.

And now I think, thanks to the strict measures I have described, we are getting our obligations and resources better into harmony. Externally our feet are set towards getting into Europe and we are quite sure that Europe and the North Atlantic Community is the place where we belong and must make our way. Over our entry into the Common Market, there may be a case to argue on the economic front but, politically, the position is absolutely clear. And I venture to suggest that, so far as Canada is concerned, whatever inconveniences there may be when Britain goes into the Common Market – as indeed there will be for us – a Britain that is part of Europe and a Europe in which Britain is playing its full part will be very much more satisfactory partners in the sort of world that you and we wish to live in. What I have been talking about, Britain's economic, defence and foreign policies and the development of her people, are not just of academic interest to Canada. What we do in Britain has its impact on you, even as what you do in Canada has its impact on us. You are our sixth largest export market and we are your second. We are tied together in all sorts of activities all over the world, in the United Nations, in the Commonwealth, in NATO, in the O.E.C.D. in Paris and in the Group of Ten and, above all, we are neighbours across the Atlantic. It is vitally important that we should understand each other. We already have old ties and old associations; rather than worry about the erosion of these, we should look at where we stand today – a new Canada and a new Britain and we shall see how close we are, how much we can gain from each other and how much we can do together in this modern world.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. John Irwin.

MARCH 20, 1969

Municipalities: Where the Action Is

AN ADDRESS BY

The Hon. W. Darcy McKeough,
MINISTER OF MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS FOR THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

CHAIRMAN

The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

I am happy to say that our guest today definitely qualifies as one of the younger generation, although he is within shooting distance of the older, because he recently attained the ripe old age of 36 years. He has been a member of the Legislature since 1963, entered the Cabinet at 33 and became Minister of Municipal Affairs in November, 1967. In that capacity, he is at the very centre of great changes which are now in the making with regard to the financing, structure and organization of municipal government in this province.

Ontario is proud of the pioneer work it has done in municipal self-government since before Confederation. The family of the Honourable Mr. McKeough has long been associated with its evolution; he is the sixth member of the family since 1847 to hold public office in Chatham.

He himself was committed very early. After graduating from the University of Western Ontario he served on the Chatham City Council from 1959 to 1963, and also on its Planning Board and the Lower Thames Valley Conservation Authority, as well as in many other organizations, while at the same time he was Managing Director of his own business.

It would now appear that although Ontario's population has grown by leaps and bounds, its local authorities, of which there have been several thousand in more than a thousand municipalities, are to dwindle in number as we develop into a predominantly urban society. Nobody knows more about this than our guest. I now introduce to you, to "set the record straight," the Honourable W. Darcy McKeough.

MR. MCKEOUGH:

One of the most popular subjects today for all kinds of communication is the subject of change. In coffee klaches and in formal speeches, in bull sessions and in seminars, we marvel at the fact that things aren't the way they used to be – that they are getting less like they used to be at such a remarkably rapid pace. We talk about significant changes in the way we live and the way we work, in our homes and our communities, in the world and now, of course, beyond the world.

It is one thing to talk about change, as all of us do. It is quite another thing to go out and meet it; to leave the shelter of established tradition and to become a partner of change, looking for new ideas and ready to act on them. For government, as for business, a measure of effectiveness is our success in meeting change with sound and positive action.

My particular concern as Minister of Municipal Affairs is the changes that are taking place in municipalities. The shifting of population to urban and suburban areas, exceedingly rapid growth, changes in land use, new concepts of living – all of these developments, and many more that accompany them, are well known. So are the problems they create.

In relation to these changes and problems, the Provincial Government is in a unique position. We have the responsibility, and the authority, to take action. Others may theorize and point with alarm; we have to make the decisions for action.

It goes without saying that government action must be keyed to changing circumstances. And it is dependent on public opinion and support. The crisis in the municipalities has been building up for many years, and government action has built up accordingly. We have introduced a variety of measures. For the most part, these have been grants, subsidies and other forms of financial support. The Province now pays nearly half the cost of the services and functions that are administered by local authorities. In other words, the local bodies collect only a little over half their budgets through local taxes; the rest of the money is raised by the Province from its broader tax sources.

But as the municipal crisis became more widespread and more severe, particularly in urban areas, it became clear that the methods of the past are just not good enough. In our judgment, too, there is a growing public awareness of the need for new and more fundamental solutions.

In 1968 we adopted two further measures that had been recommended by the Ontario Committee on Taxation. One was the assumption by the Provincial Government of the administration of justice; the other was the introduction of Property Tax Reduction for virtually all home-owners and tenants in Ontario. These measures are shifting about 150 million dollars a year from the municipal tax base to the provincial tax base. They are easing the squeeze substantially for the time being, but they were never intended as total or permanent solutions.

Our municipalities are facing a large-scale, long-term crises. To meet this they need large-scale, long-term solutions.

In recent months we have spelled out our concept of the type of solutions required, and we have begun the action to implement them. In late November and early December, Premier Robarts and I presented statements to the Legislative Assembly outlining our policy on regional government and local government structural reform. These two statements, together, form a White Paper which we have called "Design for Development, Phase Two." Earlier this month in his budget statement and accompanying White Paper, the Provincial Treasurer outlined some of the financial reforms necessary to re-establish effective local government in Ontario.

It is my belief that these statements, taken together, represent one of the most significant documents of this century for the people of Ontario.

What we are proposing is nothing less than a complete overhaul of the municipal system – the most dramatic and far-reaching series of changes in 120 years, since the Baldwin Act and the assessment Act of 1849. There will be three major thrusts:

1. Reform of local taxation.
2. Reform of Provincial aid to local governments.
3. Reform of local government structure.

Reform of Local Taxation

The cornerstone for the reform of local taxation is a *reform of local assessment.*

If assessment is unfair, then the municipal taxes – which are based on that assessment – will be unfair. In fact, and beyond any doubt, assessment in Ontario *is* unfair in many ways. It *is* deficient in many ways. Therefore, we have undertaken important basic changes in the assessment function.

We are transferring the administration of assessment from the municipalities to the Province, effective July 1 in some areas and next January 1 in the remainder of Ontario. We will establish uniform standards to replace the present patchwork of differences and inconsistencies. We will place assessment on a basis that is more equitable to all taxpayers. To do this, we will assess at market value and we will maintain assessment at market value.

Asessment has tended to be a neglected area for a number of reasons. Our task now is to correct the results of more than a century of neglect and low priorities.

Perhaps I should clarify one point about our plan, since everyone will be affected by it. That is the intention of assessing all properties at market value. For most municipalities this will be a major change. Studies done by the Assessment has tended to be a neglected area for a year, 868 of 964 municipalities were assessing at below 40% of market value.

We are convinced that assessment at market value permits the maximum accuracy and the maximum fairness among all taxpayers. This does not affect the level of local taxes, of course, except to correct cases of unfairness.

This modernization of property assessment is the essential cornerstone upon which a modern financial system can – and will – be built.

Reform of Provincial Aid to Local Government

The second thrust in the plans by the Province to reform our municipal system relates to Provincial aid to local governments.

As I have indicated, this aid is already substantial, and it is continuing to increase. As a short-run measure, property tax reduction is being continued in 1969 as the best method now available to provide direct assistance to householders – both home-owners and tenants – in order to ease for them the burden of the property tax. We are raising the average level of Provincial support for elementary and secondary education from 45% to 60% over a three-year period, and improving our system of unconditional grants. Overall reform of the present subsidy system, however, to the maximum benefit of the municipalities and of individual citizens, depends in large measure on reforms in assessment and in municipal structure. These three thrusts of change must all go forward together.

Reform of Local Government Structure

The third major action in our overhaul of the municipal system is already under way, and I'm being cussed and discussed in many parts of the province because of it. Including, I might say, the part of the province where I am now standing. I'm referring to *regional government.*

In many areas the existing local governments are not able to cope with the speed and the magnitude of the challenges that face them – challenges that involve population growth, changing patterns of urban and suburban areas, huge and expensive problems of providing water lines and sewers, traffic jams so severe that they have a serious impact on the economy and so on.

In such cases, where the needs of the people can only be met by a drastic change in municipal structure, my Department takes the initiative in proposing the establishment of a regional form of government.

Regional government, where and when necessary, has four fundamental aims.

The first aim is *to make local government stronger.* Over the last generation – and particularly since the end of World War II – there has been a trend away from local government in major decision-making. Local responsibilities tend to become greater than local powers and finances can handle.

It is our intention to reverse this trend by creating new units of local government that are strong enough to make the meaningful decisions associated with the responsibilities they have been given.

The second aim of regional government is the establishment of a municipal structure that makes it realistic *to re-examine the existing division of responsibilities between the Province and its municipalities.* There are many things now being carried out by the Province which could be done by a stronger municipal structure. For example, in my own Department, some of the detailed planning approvals now made at Queen's Park could be done by a Regional Government Council.

A third aim of our programme is *fiscal equalization*. One of the biggest problems in local government is fiscal imbalance. The financial capacity of a municipality is based almost entirely on the property which happens to be within its boundaries – and this is not necessarily related to the demand and need for municipal services. Regional government will help redress this imbalance because assessment in a region will be pooled to provide regional services.

The fourth aim of our regional government programme is *to return as much decision-making power as possible to the elected municipal council at the regional and local levels*. Many local boards, commissions, committees, etc., make their decisions – policy and financial – quite independently. It is our belief that the elected regional or local municipal council should be the chief instrument of policy co-ordination for most local government functions. In order to achieve this augmented role for elected municipal councils we see the need to strengthen the municipal structure.

The Bureau of Municipal Research has come to the same conclusion in its excellent paper on special-purposed bodies in Metropolitan Toronto. Bodies of this kind can render excellent public service, but that fact does not override the principle that it is highly desirable for people who make decisions on public matters to be directly responsible to the electorate.

Regional Government Progress

In order to give you an idea of how regional government is shaping up in those areas where we are moving ahead on a high-priority basis, here is a list of what is now being done:

- *Ottawa-Carleton*: regional government came into operation on January 1 of this year.
- *Niagara*: I presented a proposal for regional government in the Counties of Lincoln and Welland on January 23rd. I hope to be in a position to introduce legislation within a few weeks, and to have regional government

in that area come into effect next January 1.

- *Hamilton-Wentworth*: public hearings by a local government review commission have begun and a final report should be in my hands by the end of this year. This report will be taken into account when we make an early decision on regional government for that area.
- *Kitchener-Waterloo*: a local government review commission report will be made very shortly. After we study this report, I will make a regional government proposal for the Kitchener-Waterloo area.
- *Haldimand-Norfolk*: On Monday of this week I spoke to the municipal councils of the Counties of Haldimand and Norfolk. As you know, a major new industrial complex is to be erected on the Lake Erie shore almost exactly on the border between these two counties. We will work with the Counties in preparing a development plan for the area, and we will also co-ordinate Departments and agencies in the implementation of this development plan. In addition, I expect that a regional government proposal, based on the findings of this plan, will be made to the affected municipalities.

This list could go on at some length since there are many other areas in which some form of study or discussion is in process, either in a preliminary or advanced stage.

The Metro Toronto Area

You will have noticed one very important area that I omitted from that list – the area that converges on Metropolitan Toronto. In terms of urban pressures and local government reform, this is the centre of where the action is. Events here are moving at a quickening pace. There is a certain amount of controversy as divergent opinions are expressed, and that is a healthy development. An interested public is most desirable when changes in structure are being worked out.

On the three sides of Metropolitan Toronto, proposals for regional government are now being generated.

To the *West*, I have made a preliminary proposal for regional government in the Counties of Peel and Halton. You will recall that a review of the local government structure in this area was completed two years ago. However, we could not accept the recommendations of this review because it called for a distinct separation of the area into two regions – one rural and one urban. Our view is that the division of urban and rural economies is a method of the past. My proposal suggests one regional government covering both counties and a small part of Dufferin County around Orangeville. This preliminary proposal will now be studied by a committee representing the municipalities in the proposed region. I shall be holding my first meeting with this committee tomorrow.

North of Metro Toronto there has been considerable discussion among municipalities in York County on both regional government and municipal consolidation. I shall be presenting a preliminary proposal for discussion purposes on April 1.

On the *East* side of Metro a novel and different approach is being used. On its own initiative a group of municipalities has begun a planning and development study covering Ontario County and part of Durham County. This will be a broadly-based study, looking at the economic population and developmental patterns and projections for the area, leading to a series of recommendations covering subjects such as transportation, land use and the machinery of government. I expect that this will lead to a regional government proposal for the area. The municipalities will be meeting with some of my colleagues and myself late this month to seek our technical and financial assistance.

There are many reasons for our proposal for three regional governments to the east, north and west of Metro in preference to the obvious alternative of extending Metro's boundaries. What those reasons boil down to is the best interests of the people. We have studied the experience of urban and suburban areas elsewhere on this continent and in Europe. We have made analyses and projections for the varied factors of growth and development in the Metro area. Our conclusion is that the long-range quality of living in this part of Ontario will be best served by the divisions I have outlined.

Planning

How about planning?

That is a question that has been asked a good deal in the last few weeks. It is a fair question and it has a logical answer.

To place this subject in context, let us recall the background of the Metro Toronto Planning Area and Board.

In 1953 the Province made two major decisions. One was to establish the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. The second was to define the Metro Toronto Planning Area. This planning area is, under the Planning Act, a *joint* planning area. It encompasses a number of municipalities in a partnership set up to study and make recommendations regarding growth and change within its limits. The planning area consisted of 26 local municipalities, 13 inside Metro Toronto and 13 outside in York, Ontario and Peel Counties. The municipalities outside Metro are formally represented by 6 members (out of 28) on the Planning Board.

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act, 1953, provided that Metro Toronto be the "designated" municipality for purposes of the Planning Act. This is a technical term that seems to cause misunderstanding for some persons. It is an administrative device to "designate" a municipality under the Planning Act. Such a municipality is *not* given any special powers, and the Metro Government does not have any special powers in regard to the Planning Board.

In proposing that there be three regional municipalities adjacent to Metro Toronto, I made the statement that the boundaries of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area would be re-adjusted to coincide with the boundaries of the Metropolitan Corporation. This statement is consistent with our view that planning must be an integral part of government operations and that, to be most effective, the area of planning jurisdiction and political jurisdiction should be the same. This view regards planning as an essential function that should be really effective, rather than just theoretical; and a function that should bear a close relationship to the people it serves.

Some of the reaction to this proposal has been adverse, as you know. One might get the impression, from some of the comments that have been made, that the doors would be thrown wide open to uncontrolled development in the fringe areas as a result of the reduced size of the Metro Planning Board. Although sound and effective planning was one of the strongest bases for the course I outlined, there have been suggestions that we were anti-planning.

It is obvious that my message didn't come through too clearly. The Province is fully aware of the tremendous growth pressures that must be met and of the urgent need to prepare plans to accommodate this growth. The Metropolitan Toronto and Region Transportation Study is an obvious example of our concern. The reports of this far-ranging Provincial study, released last June, provide a springboard for informed and responsible planning within the broader Toronto area.

The scope of that study, covering 3200 square miles, was a demonstration of the enlarged area that is subject to the Metro-centred urban pressures of this part of Ontario. At the time the Planning Board was established in 1953, a planning area of 720 square miles seemed sufficient. But as circumstances have changed, so have the ways of meeting them. For the Sixties – and for the Seventies and Eighties, and beyond – the perspective for planning is much different.

We are not out to spike the guns of the planners.

On the contrary, we're seeking ways of *increasing* the influence of sound planning. The new system will be designed to encourage comprehensive planning, and to make it far more likely that the plans can be put into effect.

Here is what we visualize:

1. Each of the new regional municipalities will be charged with the responsibility of preparing an official plan under the Planning Act as soon as possible after being established. (This responsibility is already set out in the legislation creating the regional municipality of Ottawa-Carleton.)
2. There will be competent planning staff employed by each of the regional municipalities. Their main responsibilities will be to prepare and maintain an official plan which will set out the broad strategy for growth within the entire regional municipality. In addition, in the case of a two-tier system, the staff will be available to help the constituent municipalities in handling their local development problems.
3. The regional official plans shall be consistent with physical and economic guidelines prepared under the Province's regional development programme.
4. The regional official plans will, in turn, form the framework for the more detailed, and geographically more limited, plans established by the local municipalities.
5. Provincial staffs will maintain close contact with regional municipalities during the period when plans are being prepared in order to ensure adequate communication between regional municipalities, Provincial departments and other agencies.
6. Before the plans are approved by the Minister of Municipal Affairs, as required under Section 12 of The Planning Act, they will be compared with Provincial policies and with the plans and opinions of adjacent regional municipalities. Plans will be consistent one with the other. Co-ordination of the planning carried out by the regional municipalities is an

extremely important Provincial function. The existence of rational plans for the regional municipalities will make far less necessary the present Provincial concern about the more detailed plans for individual local municipalities.

7. In Southern Ontario it is impossible to draw boundary lines between regional municipalities in such a manner as to preclude almost continuous dialogue between these municipalities. We must recognize this and provide the legislative and administrative structure to permit it to occur. We see the desirability of regional municipalities getting together to discuss a multitude of issues of common interest. I have already had one preliminary discussion with the Metro Toronto Executive Committee and one with the Metro Planning Board Executive on a number of these points. This is just the beginning. Over the coming months and years there will be many discussions with many people. All viewpoints will be heard; all viewpoints will be given careful consideration.

The timing of the change in the boundaries of the Metro Toronto Planning Area is extremely important. It is my intention not to change the present boundaries until I am assured that the new regional municipalities are equipped by plans, staff and attitude to take over. It is unlikely that the three new regional municipalities will all be in this position for at least three to five years.

The partnership which has existed between the municipalities in the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area over the past 16 years has been, in my opinion, most beneficial to the Province, the region and the individual municipalities both inside and outside Metro Toronto.

This dynamic agency can have an important role in facilitating the ultimate transfer of responsibilities to the new regional governments. Beyond that time, it will continue to be a vital force in shaping solutions to the challenges and changes of great magnitude that will take place in Metropolitan Toronto.

Internal Municipal Structure

Beyond the concept of regional government, and beyond the role of planning, there is another element that is essential to the success of a reformed municipal structure. That element is the internal administration of municipalities. The best of systems on paper is worthless if the internal administration of municipalities is not equipped to put it into effect. Like everything else in our system of municipalities, the internal structures were created in the distant past. Some municipalities have made changes over the years, and others are concerned at the effects of the mounting pressures and complications, especially in urban centres.

I am convinced that the only way we can avoid the almost insurmountable obstacles faced by some of the large American cities is by making a thorough study of the urban internal municipal structure, with a view to soundly-based innovation.

To this end, my Department has begun such a study. We are examining many forms of structure, including boards of control, executive committees, and the Council-manager system. We will be securing first-hand information from certain municipalities here in Ontario, and we will study related experience in the United States and the United Kingdom.

We do not have the answers to what is the best form of administration for municipalities, particularly large ones. I hope, through this study, that we will establish those answers.

Conclusion

I think it is correct to say that the municipal level of government was regarded, at one time, as rather routine. It seemed to be a place where nothing much changed over the years, except the names and the faces. While the world was transformed by the development of basic things like the automobile, the airplane, and electricity, there was virtually no change in the system of municipal government that was established 18 years before Confederation.

If it seems that a great many innovations are taking place all at once in our municipalities, just remember how long these changes have been in coming. And remember, too, how much is dependent on those innovations – the efficiency of our economy, the climate for enterprise and progress, the quality of personal living.

Right now, municipalities are where the action is. I'm honoured to be in the centre of it. And I welcome all ideas and suggestions that can help us to carry through the specific courses of action that will best serve the future of the people of Ontario.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Dr. C. C. Goldring.

MARCH 27, 1969

NATO in the Balance

AN ADDRESS BY David Lewis, Q.C., M.P.
DEPUTY LEADER OF THE
NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

The House of Commons Committee on External Affairs and National Derence has just returned from Europe. Yesterday, its report on Canada's role in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was presented to the House, and a White Paper from the Cabinet is expected soon.

Canada played a large part in creating NATO in the first place. However, in recent years the subject has aroused considerable disputation in NATO itself, in this country and indeed within all political parties and even within governments; probably differences of opinion will continue because they are related to basic issues in international affairs today. This is an open forum and our guest today is free to express his own views, after touring Europe and the NATO bases with the Commons Committee.

Mr. David Lewis, Q.C., M.P., has had a most unusual life and career. Born in Poland, he came to Canada as a boy with his parents, was soon teaching English to new Canadians, was trained in economcis and the law at McGill and Oxford. In 1931 a most distinguished committee selected Mr. Lewis as Rhodes Scholar for Quebec. The Committee included the late Sir Edward Beatty, Dr. Wilder

Penfield, Mr. Arnold Heeney and Mr. Lester B. Pearson – a blue-ribbon committee if there ever was one. In England he was soon recognized as a debater and became the first Canadian President of the Oxford Union.

On his return to Canada he became a member of the Quebec Bar, later of the Ontario Bar and practised in Ottawa and Toronto. He was National Secretary of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation for many years, had an important part in forming the New Democratic Party and has been in and out of the House of Commons since 1962. He is Deputy Leader of his party and one of the most active and articulate Members of Parliament. When Mr. Tommy Douglas returned to the House on February 20th, Mr. Robert Stanfield said: "I hope I am not out of place, Mr. Speaker, in suggesting to the honourable member who is taking his seat today (Mr. Douglas) that his colleague the honourable member for York South (Mr. Lewis) has conducted himself eloquently and effectively as the acting parliamentary leader of his party."

MR. LEWIS:

Mr. President and gentlemen. The President did not tell you that he and I have known each other now for 37 years. We have had a close association personally, politically and professionally. And the fact that he said only nice things about me is a tribute to his loyalty and to his gallantry.

I do not expect, Mr. President, that what I have to say will meet with universal approval in this hall. Indeed, sir, I could not help but be impressed, if not overwhelmed, by the important posts held by most at the head table in the Canadian "Establishment" which I have spent most of my life criticizing and fighting; and expect to continue to do so for whatever time I have left in the political life of this country.

And it is in that spirit of friendly and respectful antagonism that I want to speak to you this afternoon.

We travelled through Europe under heavy pressures and a very tight schedule. And we heard a great deal about the importance of NATO. Indeed, as I said in Parliament yesterday, my brain was so brain-washed for two weeks that I was afraid I might not be able to find the bit of it that was still left. This was a dangerous thing to say in Parliament, because some honourable member promptly asked, with obvious doubt in his voice, "Have you found it?"

My trip to Europe reminded me that we live in a nightmarish world whose survival, we are told, depends on our capacity to destroy it.

Our wise realists across this globe tell us that so long as this destructive capacity is available equally to each of the potential antagonists, humanity will be safe.

Now, a logical person might conclude that, if this be true, then at the moment when each of the antagonists has enough nuclear hardware to destroy every living, breathing and growing thing on earth, the arms race would stop. But he would be wrong. Because this particular insanity knows no end.

Human survival in our modern world is made to depend on fear, all-pervasive, all-consuming, soul-destroying fear. We are told that only this can save the human race from destruction, and the end is nowhere in sight.

In Paris, for example, we heard a well-known ex-general of France. I sat at a luncheon table with him and, during the pleasant conversation of lunch, this intelligent and eloquent general earnestly argued that the only way to bring peace in the Middle East was to provide both Israel and Egypt equally with nuclear capacity. Fear, he said with inexorable gallic logic – fear would bring them to the negotiating table. And, he added, that is why he and France opposed the non-proliferation treaty.

The logic seemed to be that the way to make the world really safe was to spread far and wide the power to destroy it or a part of it.

I must admit that the logic repelled me with revulsion.

But, after some thought, I began to wonder whether this brilliant French general was not in fact drawing the logic of the balance of terror to its ineluctable conclusion.

It is in this context that I watched what I saw in and around NATO. The military and other NATO leaders wasted their time trying to brain-wash me, for my experience with them not merely confirmed the doubts which I had had before, but turned me a very considerable distance away from the whole idea of the military alliance.

When one reminded leading people one met in Europe that historically in the past power blocks and military alliances did not stop war but, indeed, produced them, one was told, oh, this was before the nuclear age.

Europe, we are told, is now safe – safe from all-out war – because on our side, on the NATO side, we have 7,000 tactical nuclear weapons scattered over West Germany and the other West European NATO countries backed by the strategic destructive power of the United States, facing about a thousand tactical nuclear weapons on the other side backed by the strategic destructive power of the U.S.S.R.; and that this produces safety for Europe. And since some one thousand tactical nuclear weapons – let alone the strategic ones – are more than enough to destroy everything in Europe from end to end, then obviously, since we had 7,000 of the things lying around Europe, we were safe. And since the Russians had a thousand of them, they were safe!

I don't know how many Canadians realize that our forces in Europe are a part of this nuclear arsenal. Our air division in Germany is provided with nuclear missiles kept behind barbed wire under American control, and our F-104 Star-fighters have the capacity to deliver them.

Indeed, we were informed that the nuclear weapons which are available to our air division are even now pre-targetted, as are most of the tactical nuclear weapons on both sides of the insane confrontation.

Our brigade, our land brigade, is provided with "Honest Johns" and nuclear warheads. And all the exercises of both our air division and our brigade are as much concerned with the use and delivery of nuclear weapons as they are with the delivery of conventional weapons. I knew that before I went there. But I must say honestly to you that, although I saw not the nuclear weapons themselves but only the surroundings in which they are located, my doubts about the whole set-up increased some more.

Now, gentlemen, for 20 years, as those who were members of the C.C.F. and of the New Democratic Party know, I have been one of the spokesmen in our party who have supported Canada's membership in NATO. And we supported it against considerable opposition from a good many people in our ranks.

I supported it in the belief, first, that Western Europe needed our support; secondly, that Western Europe was one of the danger spots in the world. But, above all, I supported NATO in the hope that this western coalition would be used as the agency for real negotiations with the eastern coalition in order to achieve a détente in Europe, a balanced reduction of forces on both sides, and an eventual settlement of the European problem.

But, as I watched this confrontation of the blocks over the years I could not help but have more and more serious doubts as to whether those hopes are ever likely to be fulfilled. And my doubts were confirmed by the trip through Europe.

I was – perhaps because of my naïveté (though no one has ever accused me of being naïve) – I was shocked by the fact that very little attention is paid by the leaders of NATO to the problem of negotiating a détente in Europe. Lip service is still paid to it, but NATO has become more and more a powerful military alliance, more and more controlled by military objectives and psychology, more and more under the domination of the military leaders – at the head the American and under them not only the British and the Canadians but in very high places the German generals and admirals who just a few years ago were fighting Hitler's war against us.

In NATO headquarters and at SHAPE in Brussels there is built up a relatively large – although small in our domestic terms – a relatively large civil and military bureaucracy with vested interest in the continuation of the present organization with its military capability; with a vested interest in the continuation of the deterrent fear, because if by chance peace broke out, their game and their role would end.

I am not saying that these are not very sincere men with good intentions. But I have learned, both in my life and from reading history, that wrong policies in the hands of sincere men are that much more dangerous. And this includes Canada's civil and military representatives as well.

I was struck during the trip and in talking and listening to the representative of NATO that there is not any end in sight to this game of block confrontation in Europe. The assumption universally appears to be that it will have to continue indefinitely.

After all, the central problem in Europe is the German problem: the division of Germany, the location of West Berlin right inside East Germany. One asked in vain – and I asked it many times, both when the Committee as a whole was sitting and, more often, in private conversations at lunch and at dinner and in between, of numerous people in numerous countries – when one asked, "What is your perspective about the solution of this German problem?" the answer was invariably a shrug of the shoulders, a statement that, "We really can't see any solution yet" followed by a piece of sheer, unadulterated hypocrisy: namely, that one of the objectives of the Western Alliance is a re-united Germany.

They don't mean it.

Every western country is already frightened to death of the economic and military strength of West Germany. And we were informed by Sovietologists that every eastern European country is frightened to death of the economic and military strength of East Germany.

Not one of those countries wants a re-united Germany; indeed, they are more afraid of what such a re-union would mean to the balance of the situation in Europe. But they carry on this hypocritical drama about wanting a re-united Germany when they don't mean it, because that happens to be the political objective of the leaders in Western Germany. And because Western Germany is an important member of the NATO family, NATO as a whole must repeat this hollow and hypocritical objective, despite the fact that it is an insuperable obstacle to a European settlement.

A re-united Germany is obviously impossible without war. The Communists will not agree to it unless they are assured of a Communist Germany. The west will not agree to it unless it is assured of a non-Communist Germany. And neither of those assurances is now available, or is likely to become available, in the foreseeable future.

Now, it is in this situation that we must look at our Canadian military contribution in Europe.

In my opinion that contribution is insubstantial. It does not assist the security of Europe or the security of the NATO countries. It can be easily replaced, certainly by Western Germany, and indeed by other members of the NATO family, if replacement be needed.

I believe with all my heart that our forces ought not to be there; that we ought not to waste Canadian resources on keeping military forces in Germany that make little, if any, contribution to the security of the world, and make us part of the nuclear arsenal of Western Europe. This should not be our role. We ought to bring our forces home.

There may be some value and two of my colleagues in the New Democratic Party and I said so in a statement we issued yesterday as a minority report – there may be some value in Canada continuing as a member of the Alliance without any military contribution in Europe, but only if the authorities in this country are determined to use their position in the Alliance to counter the military domination of NATO and its military objectives; to insist on a genuine, persistent search for détente and reduction of forces in Europe on both sides of the curtain, on a persistent and relentless search for a political settlement in that unhappy continent.

I must say that from what I saw in Europe, I have serious doubts as to whether these hopes will ever be justified .

When NATO was founded in 1949, Europe was devastated economically and helpless militarily. And when the Korean War broke out a great deal of re-armament took place everywhere. Canada began to increase its defence expenditures two, three, four, five times, so that from an expenditure of about three hundred million dollars 20 years ago, we now spend about eighteen hundred million dollars a year on defence.

In the early situation there was perhaps some reason for even a small country like Canada coming to the help of the west European countries with a military as well as a political contribution. But this is no longer true. Western Europe is economically strong and militarily powerful. With the nuclear deterrent of the United States it is overwhelmingly strong in military terms.

Western Germany is again becoming, in my view, a danger as well as an ally, because of its increasing economic and military strength.

In this new situation our military contribution is unnecessary, is not of any value, and, because of its nature, is vulnerable.

But beyond that, gentlemen, I am rapidly reaching the personal conclusion that perhaps we ought to get out of military alliances altogether. Perhaps Canada ought to begin a search for a new international role.

When Eisenhower warned us about the insatiable greed and hunger of the military-industrial complex in the United States, he knew what he was talking about. And this American complex, aided and abetted by similar and smaller complexes in other countries, is in control of NATO, as it is of most other aspects of our lives today, including NORAD and other western alliances.

There seems no end to the vicious circle of the nuclear arms race and the threatening power blocks. Yet, that vicious circle must be broken, or humanity is obviously doomed.

And I don't think any country which is a part of this vicious circle can credibly assail it. It is itself imprisoned by it and enmeshed in it.

The time has come – and I am beginning to be convinced of this more and more – the time has come for a country like Canada to use its resources, primarily to help raise the level of life in the developing nations in the knowledge that the elimination of poverty and disease, lifting the peoples who are now under-developed to a decent level of life is at least as much a deterrent against war as is the military confrontation.

The time has come, in my view, when Canada should use its resources in this way rather than wasting them on military commitments of doubtful value.

The time, in my view, has come for a small country like Canada to join with other smaller countries in a relentless attack on the insanity of the nuclear terror and on the international military-industrial complex which feeds it.

Both in foreign aid and in a political assault on the policies of the nuclear terror, Canada can become a leader, indeed, a hero among the struggling, frightened and frustrated smaller and middle nations of the world. If we have the courage to cease to be a satellite, we may become free to speak out with clear and firm voice. And we may even be listened to, although no one can guarantee rational behaviour in this irrational world.

I am not naïve. I appreciate that we may not succeed. There always remains the possibility that, no matter what some part, even a majority of humanity may do, humanity will be overwhelmed by the insanity which surrounds us. But, if we adopt a new road and new objectives for Canada, we will at least have tried.

Thank you very much.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by H. N. R. Jackman.

APRIL 10, 1969

What Do French-Canadians Expect of Ontario?

AN ADDRESS BY

Roger N. Seguin, Q.C.
PRESIDENT "THE ASSOCIATION OF FRENCH-SPEAKING CANADIANS IN ONTARIO"

CHAIRMAN

The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

Everybody knows almost one-third of Canadians are officially classified as being "of French ethnic origin" and many more have French ancestry. It's easy to forget however, that about one-quarter of the French Canadians do not live in the Province of Quebec: at the 1961 census there were 1,300,000 in other provinces, and of these about 650,000 – or one-half – lived in Ontario. Today there are probably three-quarters of a million French Canadians in Ontario, and many of them have been here a long time. We should remind ourselves not only of their historic role in Eastern Ontario and the Windsor area but of their great part in opening up the vast lands and treasures of Northern Ontario. They have always been an important part of Ontario life and amidst all the tumult generated in some other quarters, I do not think we have heard enough from them or about them. Our guest can fairly be described as their leading spokesman and certainly one of our leading citizens.

Mr. Roger N. Seguin, Q.C., was born in the nation's capital, son of a prominent member of the Ontario Bar.

Educated at Universities of Ottawa and Montreal, he was called to the bar in both Ontario and Quebec and became senior partner in a large Ottawa firm. He has been a director of the Radio Canada – the C.B.C. – Federal Savings and Loan Corporation, Ottawa Gas and many other companies. His record of public service is outstanding: among many other things he has been Chairman of the Ottawa Separate School Board and a Governor of the University of Ottawa.

He is perhaps best known as President of L'Association Canadienne Francaise d'Education d'Ontario. At its recent convention in Ottawa, he somewhat reluctantly accepted re-election. At the same time the organization broadened its scope and changed the name; it is now L'Association Canadienne Francaise d'Ontario or the French Canadian Association of Ontario. M. Seguin will discuss today what French Canadians expect of Ontario.

M. SEGUIN:

I have indeed been honoured when I was invited to address this distinguished representative gathering.

At the beginning of my address, I would like to thank you for the privilege of speaking to you about a subject that has been dear to my heart for many years.

I would like, with your permission, to speak on French Canadians in Ontario. You have heard so much, of late, about the "French in Quebec." Would not the "French in Ontario" constitute a welcome change? Two reasons have impelled me to select such a title.

First of all – and let there be no mistake about it – I am not a French Canadian from Quebec, but a French Canadian from Ontario. In Ontario I was born and, the Good Lord willing, in Ontario I will die. In Ontario I expect to spend the rest of my life.

In the second place, I claim to have some knowledge of the French Canadian situation in Ontario after spending more than half a century in that province. I hold no brief for Quebec nor, for that matter, for any of the French minorities of Western Canada. But I am the president of the French Canadian Association of Ontario and have been for the past six years. My association was founded sixty-eight years ago, primarily for the purpose of obtaining an educational system for Franco-Ontarians on a par with the public schools, and I am therefore the mouthpiece of a society representing more than 650,000 French Canadians of Ontario, about one tenth of the total population of the province.

The Ontario French Canadian minority is by far the largest of all the French minorities in Canada. In that minority are to be found as many French Canadians as those living in Western Canada and the Maritime Provinces combined. By the way, the number of English Canadians living in Quebec is slightly – just slightly – lower than the number of French Canadians in Ontario. For all practical purposes, the English Canadians in Quebec may be considered equal, in number, to the French Canadians of Ontario.

Now, in the course of the last few years, a question has often been asked in English Canada. I have heard it dozens of times. It can be stated in a few words: "What Do French Canadians Expect of Ontario?"

It is an easy task for me to state the grievances and objectives of the French Canadians of Ontario. These grievances and objectives do not necessarily coincide with those of the French minorities in Western Canada and the Maritime Provinces. But they certainly are not at right angles with them.

They can be summed up in one sentence: the French Canadians of Ontario demand, for the education of their children, at the primary, high-school and university levels, the same rights and privileges – no more but no less – than those rights and privileges that have been enjoyed, for almost a century, by the English Protestant minority of Quebec, and to have later in life the same cultural and economic opportunities.

The historical roots of Canada have developed from two communities: one English-speaking, the other French-speaking. Together with the peoples of other language groups, these two communities have moulded the shape and character of Canada. Historically and traditionally, English and French are the two working languages of the Canadian people. For this reason, when discussing the linguistic question in Canada today, we are talking of these two languages.

The French-speaking community in Ontario has always looked upon education as one of the most important forces, if not the most important, for its survival as a cultural group. Education in his mother tongue permits the Franco-Ontarian to receive the values of his society and his way of life in the same way an English-speaking Ontarian does in schools where English is the language of instruction and communication. Both for himself and his children, the Franco-Ontarian wants to preserve his language, customs and culture as an integral part of Canadian life.

This natural desire is not an attempt to draw a curtain around or to shut out the overwhelming presence of English-speaking North America. On the contrary, the desire of the Franco-Ontarian to live in a French milieu is perfectly harmonious with the equal desire to contribute fully to the cultural, economic and technical progress in his province and of his country.

I have found the report of the Ontario Advisory Committee on Confederation of which I am a member, on the question of French-language education, to be of great value. I am quoting their historical summary as it presents the problem in a clear and concise fashion.

> "The use of French as a language of instruction in Ontario dates from the early days of the French settlements. Before Confederation, particularly in the period of the Union of Upper and Lower Canada, French-language and English-language primary schools were established without much debate. The first official permission given

> by the Council of Public Instruction for teaching in a language other than English came in 1851. The Council stated that persons who applied for teaching positions could substitute a knowledge of French or German grammar for English. The effect of this ruling was to sanction 'the exclusive use of French (or German) in any of the schools of Upper Canada.' A letter dated April 28th, 1857, from Dr. Egerton Ryerson, Chief Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada, to the Trustees of School Number 3, in Charlottenburg, expressed the official attitude of the day towards French-language instruction."

Because there was so little difficulty surrounding the use of language for instruction in schools, the Fathers of Confederation did not specifically deal with the matter in drafting the British North America Act.

It was in the 1880s, when increasing numbers of people moved to Ontario from Quebec, that controversy over language began to develop. In this same period, action was taken by the Government of Ontario to declare that English was to be the official language of instruction "except where impracticable by reason of the pupil not understanding English."

As you are aware, the language issue erupted in Ontario in 1912 with Regulation 17 which forbade the use of French as a language of instruction after Form One. During the 1920s and 1930s, by compromise and agreement, steps were taken which have resulted in a pattern of instruction in the French language at the elementary school level which has proved to be workable, if not always completely satisfactory to all concerned. In recent years substantial progress has been made in providing equality of educational opportunity at the elementary level.

Over the years, and especially in recent years, the use of the French language in Ontario schools has been increasing rapidly. But this has been largely as a result of the historical status of the language in Ontario and is based upon precedent and established custom. In 1968, by Bill 140, the Ontario Government recognized French as a language of instruction and recognized the right for French-speaking ratepayers to obtain French classes when the number of pupils was sufficiently large to establish such classes.

The separate schools system is still handicapped from the fact that in Ontario, ever since Confederation, there has been no adequate machinery for an equitable division between public and separate schools of ever increasing amount of school taxes paid by corporations and public utilities. According to Section 65 of the Ontario Separate School Act, a corporation may require a part of its property and business to be rated and assessed for separate school purposes. But there is *nothing mandatory* about this provision. For all practical purposes, corporation taxes go to public schools.

In February 1963, Premier John Robarts of Ontario established a new system of grants for education called the "Ontario Foundation Tax Plan." It took effect in the calendar year 1964. It is a major step "towards a fuller equalization of educational opportunity" for every child in Ontario.

For the Roman Catholic ratepayer of Ontario, this new Plan marks the beginning of an era of justice and therefore the end of a century of injustices with reference to corporation taxes.

Dealing at some length with the corporate tax adjustment in the new plan, Mr. Robarts said Roman Catholics have complained, "it must be admitted with some justification," about their inability to direct the spending of their share of corporate taxes." For the first time in the history of Canada, a prime minister of an English-speaking province has made such an admission. According to his statement, Roman Catholics of Ontario had "*some* justification" in denouncing a system whereby all the school taxes of corporations went to public schools, to the detriment of separate schools. This century old "blemish" will, at long last, begin to disappear with the new plan.

On that matter, I have the official figures for the academic year 1968-69. These figures change from year to year but the proportions between them remain fairly constant.

During the academic year 1968-69, 26,477 pupils attended the Ottawa public schools; 28,496 the separate schools. A majority of 2,019 for the separate schools.

The cost for the education of the public schools was $16,820,000.00; the education of the separate schools cost $14,590,000.00. The education of separate school pupils cost $2,230,000.00 less than the education of public school pupils with 2,019 more pupils.

Now these separate schools of Ottawa could have been closed, at the beginning of the academic year 1968-69 or in any year, and the catholic school population transferred to the public schools. Nothing in the educational law of Ontario prevents separate school supporters to close down their schools and send their children to the public schools where they would have to be accepted.

I have no definite data for other Ontario cities which have separate schools. But since they all have less money to function, all other things being equal, it follows that they also save, every year, a good deal of money, like the Ottawa Separate Schools. It means, therefore, that the saving is achieved by paying less salaries to our teachers and that our school buildings are deficient in many ways by not having laboratories, gymnasiums, cafeterias. etc. . . .

L'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario has always been convinced that to be competitive and to achieve their full potential in a highly industrialized, modern society, the French-speaking youth of Ontario must be in a position to develop their French culture and Christian heritage within an educational system which is adapted to their environment. The Ontario school system seeks to ensure equal educational opportunities for all. At the secondary level, however, up to January 1st, 1969, only the needs of English-speaking Ontarians were satisfactorily met. Unfortunately, French-speaking students at that level did not benefit from an education suited to their needs, and consequently they did not enjoy equal educational opportunities.

The parents had three alternatives open to them prior to January 1st, 1969:

> Firstly, they could send their children to the public, academic or technical secondary schools where English was the language of instruction and communication. Approximately, 10,000 French-speaking students attended those schools and some are still attending because it is now too late to change to French-speaking secondary schools. These students lose their competence and mother tongue and will be unable to qualify for the French sector of our two bilingual universities.
>
> Secondly, in some districts, parents can send their children to existing public high schools where a few academic subjects were taught in French. Those students could retain a certain cultural competence in academic subjects. This is not the case, however, in technical schools.
>
> Thirdly, parents could send their children to bilingual and denominational private secondary schools where French was the language of communication and instruction in several subjects. These schools offered only the Arts and Science courses and certain commercial subjects. The operation of these schools in the face of steeply rising operating costs represented a considerable financial burden for both the parents and the private schools themselves because the latter's share of taxes and governmental grants are terminated at grade 10 and were calculated on elementary school scales only.

In other words, although we have been paying secondary school taxes, we did not have any school system of our own, neither technical schools, nor schools of commerce.

As things stood, prior to January 1st, 1969, the secondary school systems did not develop French-speaking Ontarians as part of a system suited to their needs and financed from public funds. In an era when Grade 12 education is considered a minimum, the rate of drop-outs among our young people causes us very deep concern. According to a recent survey, the number of drop-outs in grades 9 and 10 is twice as high among French-speaking Ontarians as it is among English-speaking students. Another most alarming situation is that few French-speaking Ontarians can benefit adequately from the present technical schools and Institutions of Applied Arts and Technology. Yet, now, provision must be made due to the fact that about 60% of the French-speaking school population would likely follow technical courses suitably adapted to ease the transition from the primary to the secondary level and to ensure an environment designed to encourage students to continue at school. We, therefore, stress again the fact that if the secondary school programmes are not properly adapted and if a large proportion of young French-speaking Ontarians can not qualify themselves academically or technically, the remainder of the population will have to pay the cost of social and other services for these very people who, being underprivileged in terms of schooling and income, produce less and need most.

With the passing of Bill 141 by the Government of Ontario, it is now our view that such a secondary school system, as approved by the Department of Education, will constitute a major step to ensure the development of young French-speaking Ontarians, so that they may play their full part as Ontarians and Canadians in a modern economy and society.

Although my Association has asked for French-speaking schools, we are of the opinion that the secondary school graduate must have obtained a knowledge of English so that he will be able to communicate effectively with his English-speaking compatriots, to compete on the labour market and to take part in the political and social life of his province and his country.

On the university level, we have two bilingual universities in Ontario, the University of Ottawa which is one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in our province and Laurentian University in Sudbury. Having obtained our secondary schools, we now feel sure that we will be able to send sufficient numbers of students to our two universities in order to assure their survival.

In 1964, negotiations took place whereby the University of Ottawa became eligible for full participation in provincial government grants along with the other universities of the province. Since then the University has been able to plan its expansion to meet the requirements of the future. Both Laurentian University and the University of Ottawa receive grants to assist them to meet the costs inherent in carrying on programmes in both English and French.

In the area of Teacher Education, there are two bilingual Teachers' Colleges operated by the province. One is in Ottawa and a second bilingual Teachers' College was established at Sudbury. In the latter case, a new College building financed wholly by the province is now under construction. This college will continue to train bilingual teachers for the French language elementary schools.

Negotiations are nearing conclusion with officials of the University of Ottawa whereby a new institution to train both elementary and secondary teachers for French-language schools will be provided by the Department of Education.

On the educational television side, we are of the opinion that educational television can offer an excellent means of maintaining and perfecting the French language and culture. The French section of the Educational Television Branch should be flexible enough to venture into any worthwhile educational enterprise. It should, at the same time, have a responsibility for the production of a great variety of educational programmes for pre-school, in-school and adult viewing and the promotion of the French-language culture in all its aspects.

To achieve these goals in the production of all programmes it will be necessary to use the best French talent available and set high forms of spoken French as well as provide the necessary educational and technical staff needed to plan, supervise and produce programmes.

Any provision for the expansion of educational television should take into account the necessary facilities both for production and broadcasting in the French language throughout the province.

So much for education, and in concluding this phase, may I quote Tim Creery of Southam News Service:

> "The right to an education in French is the key to the survival of the French Canadian culture and way of life in Canada and hence the key to a Confederation in which French Canadians would want to remain."

This now brings us to the cultural side of the French Canadian future in Ontario. In not having had the school facilities, we did not develop culturally as we should have and this was realized by the Ontario Advisory Committee on Confederation, which recommended to the Prime Minister of Ontario that a survey be made as to the participation of Franco-Ontarians in the artistic and cultural life of Ontario.

A grant of $50,000.00 was made to the Franco-Ontarian study committee and a very detailed survey was produced by the said committee, its main recommendation being that the Government of Ontario establish a Franco-Ontarian Council for cultural orientation comprising of ten French-speaking members appointed by the Prime Minister, representing the different French regions of Ontario on the one hand, and the various artistic and cultural disciplines, on the other. This Council would be directly responsible to the Government of the Province.

We are also asking the Provincial Government for a permanent secretariat to be composed of a director and a co-ordinator in charge of five field officers. The role of the Council may be defined as follows:

(a) to operate a cultural promotion service;
(b) to develop a cultural policy for Franco-Ontarians;
(c) to provide funds for new cultural or artistic projects;
(d) to pursue the research initiated by the "Comité franco-ontarien d'enquête culturelle."

This Council would be an organizational body designed to initiate programmes and that, as such, it might only be required for five or six years. At present the Province of Ontario Council for the Arts (POCA) has not made any really substantial grants in support of French-speaking culture in Ontario, because there are not enough activities of a sufficiently high artistic calibre to qualify. It would therefore be the function of this new Council to foster cultural activities to the point where they would qualify for POCA money.

Civilization and culture are a citizen's highest fulfilment in the natural order. They are the prime justifications of social life. Physical accomplishment, economic prosperity, security and social harmony are all directed to the intellectual development of man, a rational animal and the king of creation through the strength of his intelligence and will-power. It is in this development that he finds the satisfaction peculiar to his spiritual nature.

On the economic side, our grievances are to the effect that we have been ignored by large and small corporations when it comes to employment. We are asking that, when qualified to the equivalent of our English-speaking colleagues, French-speaking Ontarians be considered for employment in a sufficient proportion, so that we will have equitable representation. Our largest and only economic claim in this province presently is through the credit unions (Caisses Populaires) which have on deposit $80,000,000 in this province. They have helped thousands of Franco-Ontarians to make purchases of furniture and chattels and many thousands more by lending them on mortgages in order that they may become residential owners.

We have, of course, within our French-speaking population, a certain number of people who have achieved economic success, more particularly in the building industry in the City of Ottawa, but we are very weak in other domains.

May I be permitted to conclude with two quotations. The first is from a peer among Canadians: The Right Honourable Vincent Massey. At the Biennial Conference of the Association of Canadian Clubs, held in Charlottetown, on June 1, 1964, the former Governor General of Canada gave an address from which I would like to underline the following excerpt:

> "The greatest contrast, of course, between the American nation and ours is that the United States is a country of one language and one culture and Canada is a country of two languages and basically two cultures. Let me say, quite frankly and humbly, that it has taken us in English-speaking Canada a long time to realize that there *are* two cultures in this Country and that our French-speaking fellow citizens were here first. . . .
>
> "It must, of course, be remembered that more than a quarter of our population comes of neither French nor British stock. We welcome the cultures which these people have brought with them; we value the rich contribution they make to our national life. We, however, have two founding races, French and English in origin, their languages and cultures having a special and permanent place in the national scene. This is an historical fact, not a political judgment."

Such is the message of a former Governor General of Canada. On January 1, 1964, we all received another message from another former Governor General of Canada. Canadian unity was the theme of Governor General Vanier's New Year message. After having referred to Anglo-Saxon and French cultures as a source of mutual enrichment for

Canadians, the representative of Her Majesty the Queen said:

> "It is inconceivable that the heirs to the two great western civilizations – Anglo-Saxon and French – should be unable to find a brotherly way of life based upon respect for rights conferred by history, a respect also for conventions freely accepted nearly a century ago but adapted to the exigencies of our time. The future of Canada is intimately allied to this fabulous double heritage."

My fondest hope is that my presence here today among you, and my message to you, may have contributed, even in a very small way, to the furtherance of a new Confederation having as its guiding star not only toleration, but brotherly love, not only justice but magnanimity, not only strict adherence to the letter of the law, the "letter that killeth," the letter that, for the last century has almost killed Confederation, but total inspiration from the "spirit" that might open up the era of a Canada becoming, from sea to sea, in every way, shape and form, a promised land.

Arthur Lower, in his "Colony to Nation" (1953, page 333), said:

> "Confederation obliterated the English conquest. The Act symbolized an agreement between the races to live and let live. . . . French-speaking Canadians could only point to one or two specific clauses in hard legal support of their 'rights,' but their claim would be that these were but 'the evidence of things unseen,' the crystallization into law of understandings reached behind the scenes. . . . In Confederation, English and French, after a stormy courtship, took each other for better or for worse . . . and it must, like other marriages, create a reasonable degree of equality between the contracting parties."

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. James H. Joyce.

APRIL 17, 1969

Tax Reform—Ontario Style

AN ADDRESS BY Hon. Charles MacNaughton,
TREASURER OF ONTARIO

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

Earlier in this season the Empire Club has been addressed by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer and by the Canadian Minister of Finance. It is altogether fitting that the trilogy should be completed by our distinguished guest today, not only because of the office he holds but also because of his personal qualities and his unflappable composure in what must be one of the most difficult assignments ever given by the Province of Ontario.

The Hon. Charles S. MacNaughton is our twenty-second Provincial Treasurer since Confederation. Four of his predecessors were also Prime Ministers. One of them, the late Mitchell F. Hepburn, took office 35 years ago. In his first year, as I recall, the budget was little more than $50,000,000. Since then Ontario has grown beyond recognition – and so has the budget. Instead of struggling in a morass of depression and deflation, the Treasurer today has to cope with problems of expansion, inflation, and rising demand in a province where population, trade and industry are all growing by leaps and bounds, and public services must keep pace.

Our guest is responsible for Ontario's three billion dollar budget. He is also Chairman of the Treasury Board which screens and reviews all the Government's activities and spending.

Since his appointment in November, 1966, he has led a major re-organization and applied modern management techniques in budgeting, planning and controls. He had already demonstrated his flair for modern methods when he organized the "GO" transit system, the first of its kind in North America. He has been a business man not only from the word "GO" but much earlier, when he had a successful career in the Seed Industry and the Canadian Seed Trade Association. He sits in the Legislature for Huron County, but what's more important, his position as Treasurer of the largest province makes him, like his Prime Minister, a big figure in the future of Confederation, where so much depends on the prosperity and strength of Ontario, and on the wisdom of its leaders.

Gentlemen, the Hon. Charles S. McNaughton.

MR. MACNAUGHTON:

I am honoured to attend my first meeting as a member of The Empire Club of Canada with this pleasant assignment. I regard it as a compliment, a responsibility and an opportunity to contribute to traditions which obviously I admire.

The objects you espouse, I know, are often misunderstood and unappreciated, just as are the elements of history which lie behind this organization.

Many of the misconceptions, of course, are not as naïve or as humorous as some of the schoolboy blunders that emanate from the fascinating study of British history. There are many variations of these innocent misinterpretations of those events and notables that form part of our rich heritage. Perhaps I can quote a few recorded ones that you will enjoy.

> "Magna Carta provided that no free man should be hanged twice for the same offence."

"Henry's popularity was shown by the title he gained as 'Offender of the Faith'."

"Charles I conducted three Parliaments and was all the time dissolving."

"The Government of England is a limited mockery."

Those innocuous errors from examination papers serve as a useful introduction to "Tax Reform, Ontario Style". I hope to assure you that the comprehensive programme set out in our white paper on The Reform of Taxation and Government Structure in Ontario is not "limited mockery"; it is not a concept for dissolving Confederation; it should not offend those with faith in the nation, and it is not designed to strangle, financially or by any other means, the taxpayers in this province.

I believe the Ontario approach to tax reform is predicated on the national interest, in the sense that national interest embraces the responsibilities of all levels of government. I suggest to you that you can divide governments into three sections but you cannot dissect the taxpayer into federal, provincial and municipal portions. The national interest must encompass the capacity of the individual to pay all of his taxes without punitive pressures.

Before I proceed into tax reform, however, let me dispel some misinterpretations, and emphasize some features, of the budgetary programme for the current fiscal year, 1969-70.

I am well aware that my 1969 Budget came as a surprise to many people who had been concerned about the "fiscal nightmare" described by Prime Minister Robarts and by me last year. Some commentators have dismissed that nightmare as a political ploy to gain concessions at the bargaining table.

I want no person in Ontario to misconstrue the balanced budget I was able to present to the Legislature on March 4. I do not want anyone to misinterpret what some observers felt were "surprisingly modest" tax changes in view of the stringent measures that had been anticipated. I must disabuse any citizen of the impression that Ontario's financial challenge is not as difficult as it had been portrayed prior to March 4.

Last year's projections of the chronic imbalance in Ontario's fiscal future have not changed. I hope they are somewhat mitigated but I have no illusions about the growing disparity which they reveal.

The very anticipation of the impossible deficits facing Ontario prompted my determination to present the first balanced budget to the Legislature in over 20 years. The most obvious response to the challenge was severe restraint on expenditure growth but, as the Prime Minister and I had warned, this will not resolve the problem.

I remind you that $400 millions was cut from the estimates of our departments; that our expenditure growth rate was reduced to 7.5% or less than one-third the average of the past three years; that this 7.5% is considerably lower than the 9.5% growth rate anticipated by our federal partners; and that we have kept the increase in expenditures below the expected rise in the gross provincial product.

Many people may regard these efforts as elementary and even inconsequential. I suggest such an attitude does not recognize the sacrifices involved.

The postponement in construction of hospitals, educational and other priority facilities will not be without repercussions. Holding the line in operational and programme costs entails far-ranging effects on other governments, institutions and agencies who depend upon provincial support. Indeed, the consequences are already becoming evident and are contributing to a greater public awareness of the extent to which provincial and municipal expenditure is geared to pressing needs in our society.

The goal of a balanced budget encompassed other cogent considerations which will be evident to this audience. Economic conditions dictated a need to cool off the inflationary pressures. The high cost of borrowing in the capital market removed any temptation to increase the public debt as an alternative to either tax increases or expenditure cutbacks.

Above all, from a longer-range view, we had to establish a solid financial base from which to launch a tax reform programme.

Perhaps as important as any consideration was the responsibility Ontario bears to the economic health of the nation itself. This province, dominant as it is, cannot be indifferent to the effect it has on the Canadian scene or on our sister jurisdictions. Nor can we be insensitive to those policies of the federal government that are demonstrated to be in the national interest.

With our economy running strong and our unemployment relatively low, Ontario perhaps was in the most favourable position to respond to the federal appeal for restraint and to absorb the consequences of it. Some of our fellow provinces, who are not as fortunate, might suffer if Ontario squeezed the capital markets or applied its fiscal strength at an inflationary angle.

The response of Ontario was critical to the success of a national restraint policy. The thrust had to be applied where it would be most effective. I am confident that the benefits of Ontario's balanced budget will spread far beyond our borders.

This holding action, however, will not have the same salutary effect on our own longer-run provincial problems. It is impossible to conceive how we can contain our expenditures to a growth rate of 7.5% with the pressures arising from population growth and the social and economic evolution of a complex, technological and urban community.

The problems and priorities of poverty, housing, congestion and pollution will not be suppressed by budgetary restraint. Like ignored sores, they will fester from lack of attention.

These problems, too, relate to the national interest even though the responsibility in these fields lies primarily in provincial hands. The demonstrated and intensifying imbalance between expenditure roles and revenue sources, endemic among the provinces, is a national problem of substantial proportions.

Nor can a balanced provincial budget do anything more than contribute toward a firm financial footing for a priority on the other side of the fiscal fence. The reforms in taxation, on the revenue side, are important in resolving the priority problems on the expenditure side.

Tax reform, in its total sense, should be no less a national objective than expenditure reform. Both are requirements of changing conditions and both affect the welfare of the individual taxpayer and citizen.

The Ontario style of tax reform is built around the major distortion in Canada's total tax package, the insensitive property levy. This municipal tax displays relatively little consideration for the ability of the individual citizen to pay the amount it requests of him. This regressive feature in the tax itself is compounded by the rapidly increasing load it bears of the priority expenditures of the day. Despite all the provincial, and some federal, measures to reduce the callous weight of this tax, it remains the prime culprit in the development of a fair and progressive tax system.

To provide effective relief for this municipal revenue base, there must be a substantial shift of costs to the more progressive tax fields jointly occupied by the federal and provincial governments.

Our intensive research has led us to the inescapable conclusion that Ontario must develop its own personal income tax system. Our system must have a base, structure, set of rates and provision for exemptions or grants that will enable us to offset the individual burden of property tax as well as those consumption taxes that are regressive in character. There is no other effective method of lifting the load from our low-income people and from those on fixed incomes.

The present federal income tax system, which provides for a modest sharing by the provinces, does not permit us to vary the rates or structure or to make other adjustments to achieve our goals. We are locked in to their requirements and we do not have a voice in determining the form of tax that makes up our share.

To develop a more equitable and viable taxation programme, our starting point must be a provincial income tax system through which we can offset the disproportionate burden of property and consumption taxes. This is the core around which Ontario's reform will be wound.

The integration of provincial and municipal taxes requires a tax credit system which allows the combined burden of the integrated tax to be adjusted to the income capacity of the individual. This credit mechanism can provide for relief of property tax, in relation to individual income and the number of dependents that income must support. A similar credit could be provided against retail sales tax.

Considerable potential exists in such a flexible mechanism for improving both the efficiency and effectiveness of various government programmes. As I mentioned in the reform paper, this system lends itself to the establishment of a positive income supplement since it would provide for refunds in those cases where total credits exceed total liability.

I believe such a programme should be designed to provide effective help to those people who will benefit from the opportunity to become productive members of society. I could not countenance the connotation of a guaranteed income programme that might lead some persons to expect the state to support them in voluntary idleness.

The potential exists to pinpoint our attack on the poverty priority, to eliminate the waste of universal income maintenance programmes to concentrate our help on those who need it most. All of this could be done through a single taxation mechanism, rather than through multiple payments and agencies. It is essentially a question of the wisest economic investment of limited funds.

To achieve an equitable tax system based on ability to pay, capital gains must be recognized as an income source generated by our strong economy. Adequate allowance must be made, however, for risks and losses. Our view is that the taxation of capital gains should be comparable, but not identical, to the U.S. system, which has not stifled initiative or capital formation in that nation. Our tax will be framed to meet our own concepts of equity and to recognize our particular conditions.

We are prepared to co-ordinate administrative requirements for personal income and capital gains taxation with the federal system. We have proposed a federal-provincial tax collection commission that would reduce the administrative burden for the Ontario taxpayer as well as both governments.

In three other areas of major provincial taxation, we have agreed to consolidate with the federal authority on condition that we will receive a fair share of the returns. These are our succession duties, which could be integrated with the federal estate tax; gift taxation, still another form of income; and corporation income tax.

Eventually, I would hope that the taxes on income, capital gains and gift streams would eliminate or at least substantially reduce death taxes which I regard as confiscatory.

The present property tax and its cousin, the business tax, pose two equity problems. In addition to the regressive nature of these taxes, their assessment base is riddled with inconsistencies and inequities. Many properties are underassessed, some are overassessed and some are not assessed at all. There is little consistency among municipalities and, sometimes, not even in the same municipality. This inequity extends to the treatment of particular classes of property.

If the base itself is not fair, it follows that the levy on the base multiplies the distortion, particularly as rates rise. This same base forms a major criterion for many of our grant programmes, which compounds the difficulty.

Our plan to take over the assessment function from municipalities, to launch a comprehensive attack on province-wide reassessment at current value, represents another key element in our tax reform plan.

In the meantime, the province has agreed to raise the average level of support for school boards from the present 45% to 60% over a three-year period beginning in 1970-71. We also plan to review and revise our complete grant and aid system which already accounts for more than one-half of our provincial budget. These programmes will become much more meaningful when we have developed an assessment base of uniform quality and competence.

Regional government, municipal consolidation, eventual revision of school board boundaries are also incorporated in our programme, along with other adjustments designed to provide a comprehensive framework.

It will be evident that these reforms will place severe stress on provincial sources of revenue, in addition to the real pressures I cited earlier. We are not deluding ourselves about the cost of reform or its effect on an over-burdened tax system.

The Ontario Government is undertaking and refining comprehensive management programmes to control our existing costs and to make the most effective use of limited funds. The host of programmes in this field comprises a full topic in itself. The resulting savings, however, will not be sufficient to cope with the financial requirements facing us.

These pressures on the province underline the obvious urgency to integrate our provincial-municipal tax reforms with the proposed federal programme due this year. Our plans cover less than one-half – about 45% – of the total tax bill presented to our Ontario citizens by all governments. The remaining half must be co-ordinated to achieve full equity and efficiency.

I am convinced that the fiscal dispute within Canada's governmental family can be resolved if the members are willing to appraise and discuss our problems in a constructive way. We must have a partnership approach, not an adversary attitude. We must have constant consultation, not semi-annual confrontation.

Effective tax reform, accurate expenditure analysis, joint programming, co-ordinated restraint programmes and realistic priority setting in Canada today demands full-time research by a team of representatives from both levels of government. These essentials cannot be left to on-again, off-again committees whose members are spread across 3,500 miles. They cannot be left to fringe advisors, economic councils, or independent tax foundations. Canada needs a permanent federal-provincial organization for economic and fiscal co-ordination.

Ontario and many other provinces are prepared to give full support to that kind of partnership. We are prepared to work together with other jurisdictions to develop a unique Canadian concept of national development under a progressive tax system and a co-ordinated expenditure programme.

Only in this way, only by standing together on sound fiscal concepts, will our governmental family be strong enough to cope with the apparently insatiable appetite for increased public expenditures.

The fiscal nightmare has not disappeared. It will grow worse unless our government develop comprehensive fiscal programmes which will meet foreseeable demands, establish joint priorities and integrate tax reforms.

These goals can be achieved if all levels of government will work together as partners rather than as adversaries. This is the spirit in which Ontario has put forward its tax reform programme, a spirit that transcends political partisanship. I earnestly hope that our proposals will be received in that spirit by other governments and our citizens alike.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by Mr. Bruce J. Legge, Q.C.

APRIL 24, 1969

President's Report 1968-1969

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

Our meeting today has a prologue. This, on the last Thursday of our regular season, is the Annual Meeting. It is a constitutional duty – and I am sworn to uphold the Constitution – that I deliver my report as the sixty-sixth President of The Empire Club of Canada.

There are other requirements: directors must be elected and auditors appointed for the year commencing May 1st. We are normally so efficient that this procedure need not consume too much time. Thereafter, I shall introduce our speaker of the day.

The Club has held 26 meetings this year, including the highly successful Christmas Party when the new Lieutenant-Governor and Honorary Vice-President of the Club, Hon. W. Ross Macdonald, was our guest for the first time.

Among our 25 distinguished speakers were nine who hold or have held high political office at London, Ottawa, Halifax, Toronto and Washington. In these nine, one could perhaps detect approximately eight different points of view.

From the academic world we drew a university president, a dean of law and three others, all of whom are even better known for the services they have rendered to the Governments of Britain or Canada or Ontario.

We have been visited by the new President of Canada's largest company, the new President of Canada's largest labour organization, and three other leaders in manufacturing, trade and commerce.

We have heard also from two of Canada's best journalists, two eminent lawyers noted for their public service, the most experienced diplomat now in Ottawa and a very great Canadian scientist.

To all these gentlemen we are indebted, and my only regret is that more of our membership did not hear their voices.

An important step forward this year, by authority of your Board, was the creation of the Empire Club Foundation. It has been chartered, not to finance the office or the work of the Club itself – which must be paid for by the members' annual fees – but to promote and circulate throughout the libraries and schools of the nation stimulating, informative and informed educational material of the kind so often to be found in our Year Books. This Club does not embrace or endorse any particular opinion expressed here, but it does endorse and support the communication of thoughtfully-expressed views, on the premise that the peace of the world, a continuing Commonwealth and a united Canada are well served by the free exchange of opinion among free and rational men.

The new Foundation was made possible by the careful planning of an excellent committee. I point out that the record of this Club since 1903 has been due largely to such committees and to the calibre of the directors who lead committee work. I honour their service, without naming them, and I must sincerely thank all those directors and Past Presidents who have been so helpful to me. I do mention two who make an extraordinary contribution in time and good judgment – Wing Commander Harold Gillingham and Mr. Donald Bath, our Secretary-Treasurer.

A committee is now preparing for a very special event to mark the 25th anniversary of D-Day and honour the men who crossed the beaches in June, 1944, to liberate France and the Netherlands in the bitter campaign which followed. There will be a dinner in this hotel on Monday, June 9; you will receive notice and order forms early in May. The special speaker will be Major-General Sir Francis de Guingand, who was Chief of Staff on D-Day.

I am confident this will be a great event, not only for veterans but for all who wish to honour their services, and also perhaps a timely reminder to the forgetful – whether on this side of the Atlantic or the other – that Canadians were there, Canada was there.

Gentlemen, pursuant to Article III, Section 3 of the Constitution, I now call upon Past President Bredin Stapells, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, which consists of five directors and four other members of the Club, to present the Report of that Committee for your consideration.

MR. STAPELLS:

As required by our Constitution, your Board of Directors appointed the following five directors:

Peter Hermant
B. J. Legge
Dr. James A. Parish
R. A. Robertson, and
R. B. Stapells

and four other regular members:

E. T. C. Burke
Arthur Chetwynd
F. R. Freeman, and
Dr. A. G. Hill

to prepare a list of nominations for directors for the ensuing year and as Chairman of this Committee, I am reporting to you on our task.

Our Honorary President is His Excellency the Right Honourable D. Roland Michener, C.C., C.D., Governor-General of Canada, and our Honorary Vice-President is the Honourable W. Ross Macdonald, P.C., C.D., Q.C., LL.D., Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.

We propose that other honorary officers be:

Major E. A. Dunlop, G.M., O.B.E., M.P.P., Honorary Secretary
Norman Borins, Q.C., Honorary Assistant Secretary
Marvin B. Gelber, Honorary Treasurer
and
R. Ford Ralph, Honorary Assistant-Treasurer.

New blood appropriately mixed with the old is fundamental for the maintenance of the welfare of the Club and we are indeed fortunate to propose the following nine outstanding men for your Board:

Philip J. Ambrose, Sheriff of the County of York
Gordon E. Grundy, F.C.A., Superintendent of Insurance of Ontario
William B. Harris, President of Harris & Partners Ltd. and of Osler & Hammond Ltd.
H. Allan Leal, Q.C., LL.D., Chairman of the Ontario Law Reform Commission and former Dean of Osgoode Hall
David Maynell, Counsel and Pension Consultant of Wm. Mercer Ltd.
W. Malcolm McIntyre, Deputy Minister and Secretary of the Ontario Cabinet
Stephen B. Roman, K.C.S.G., Chairman and President of Denison Mines Ltd. and many other companies
R. C. A. Waddell, a partner of Cochran Murray & Co. Ltd.

and finally, while his blood may be a little tired after a year of being our unpaid Secretary-Treasurer, Donald H. W. Bath, who is an Assistant General Manager of Canada Permanent Trust Company.

The following directors are proposed for re-election so that the Club may continue to have their valuable talents in its service:

R. L. Armstrong
R. G. Brander
G. L. Carruthers
J. H. Corrigan, Q.C.
A. H. Cowling
Dr. C. B. Crummey
His Worship Mayor William Dennison
H. G. Gillingham
R. I. Hendy, V.R.D., C.D., Q.C.
Peter Hermant
C. C. Hoffman
Very Rev. E. M. Howse, S.T.M., PH.D., D.D.
John Irwin
Major-General George Kitching, C.B.E., D.S.O., C.D.
Hon. A. F. Lawernce, Q.C.
Dr. J. A. Parish
J. H. Potts, C.D.
R. A. Robertson
Dr. Murray G. Ross
J. G. K. Strathy, O.B.E., E.D.
John M. Thompson
J. G. Wasteneys, C.D.
R. J. Wood.

The retiring directors have earned the Club's gratitude during their tenure of office.

Finally, to round out the Board's wisdom, the Constitution requires four past Presidents, who will be Lt. Col. E. A. Royce, E.D., R. B. Stapells, Q.C., Graham M. Gore and the man who joins this most august body today to be the Immediate Past President, Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

From the ranks of your directors, we recommend, for the Second Vice-Presidency, H. R. N. Jackman who has and is contributing to the political life of our country and who is a youthful leader in the Toronto business community as Vice-President of The Empire Life Insurance Company and of Dominion and Anglo Investment Corporation

Ltd. and Chairman of the Executive Committee of that new darling of the investment world, E-L Financial Corporation Ltd.

Peter W. Hunter has agreed to act as Third Vice-President and Dr. Harold V. Cranfield to assume the responsibilities of First Vice-President, heir apparent to the Presidency.

To preside over the fortunes of our Club for the new season we recommend Mr. H. I. Macdonald. When Ian joined the Board he was noted for being a Rhodes Scholar and the youngest Dean at the University of Toronto. When he assumed the Vice-President's role he had begun to mould this Province's future as its Chief Economist and now the Club is honoured that Ontario's Deputy Treasurer will not only ensure that the Ontario budget shall be balanced but that our famous forum shall be equally balanced with outstanding speakers. You should also know that part of the ritual of Ian's life is devotion to our country and national sport, hockey. We have in him a young man who plays the game of hockey and of life hard and well.

Gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure, therefore, to nominate, seconded by Mr. Horace Harpham, the gentlemen whose names I have read as Directors and Officers of this Club and Mr. Ian Macdonald as the 67th President of The Empire Club of Canada.

Are there any further nominations?

It is moved by R. B. Stapells, Q.C., and seconded by R. A. Robertson, that nominations be closed.

All those in favour of the motion will please say Aye.

I declare the motion carried, and I must ask the Secretary-Treasurer to cast one ballot in favour of those members named in the report of the Nominating Committee.

MR. BATH: As directed by the Chairman, I hereby cast my single ballot for the election of those shown on the attached list.

MR. STAPELLS: I declare the members named to be elected Directors of The Empire Club for the year 1969-1970.

The appointment of Auditors:

It is moved by Ford Ralph and seconded by H. Harpham that Mr. H. T. Jamieson be appointed Honorary Auditor for the next year. All in favour will kindly say Aye.

APRIL 24, 1969

Gaping Gaps in Communications

AN ADDRESS BY Jerry Goodis,
GOODIS, GOLDBERG & SOREN

CHAIRMAN The President,
Edward B. Jolliffe, Q.C.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

Our guest today is known to friend and foe as a man who speaks his mind. He has been called everything from a creative genius to an irresponsible radical. Although often a critic of business he is a spectacular success in the business of his choice. The advertising agency he founded and leads has among its clients a bank, a brewery, a distillery, a food company and a shoe manufacturer – to mention only a few. The creative work of his firm wins many awards; his own outspoken words command attention.

We welcome here today Mr. Jerry Goodis, founder and President of Goodis, Goldberg and Soren.

MR. GOODIS:

Mr. President, distinguished head table guests, gentlemen: The topic today is communications and I, like you I expect, am heartily sick of the word. It was an important word once, but all real meaning has been sucked out of it now through the incessant chatter of management consultants, fund-raisers and political speech-writers. So I will try not to use it too often today.

For better or for worse, I am in the communications business. And professional communicators are taught to study their audiences. So, before I came here today, I went to see that Expert on Everything, the man-in-the-street.

"Tell me about Empire Club members," I said.

He was very helpful. He explained that you all are compulsive coupon clippers. You gleefully grind the faces of the poor and constantly complain about creeping socialism. You wear striped trousers, drive two-year-old Oldsmobiles and fly the Red Ensign on your front lawns. You all look like a combination of George Hees and Robert Winters. You believe that all poets are fags, except, of course, Rudyard Kiplin. And your President, he said, is invariably a right-wing conservative. All these virtues in total, he explained, ensure that the sun never will set on The Empire Club of Canada.

You know all about me, of course. I am an advertising man. An advertising man is always six feet tall, handsome, with strong black hair which, when he is fifty, miraculously turns steel-grey overnight. He wears a grey flannel suit and grey flannel underwear. He also has a grey flannel tongue which is why, when his client's sales go down, he labels it a "reverse upward trend." He calls art directors "baby," and finds his best ideas in the bottom of a martini glass. He knows that a good advertisement is one his client approves. He has callouses on the inside of his knees, because they knock together whenever the client calls.

So! We both know each other and therefore we can communicate. It is only a coincidence that the few Empire Club members I know individually are totally different from the rest of you. And any advertising men you know may be different from those I have described. That only proves there are a few good apples in every barrel.

Enough. The point I'd like to make today is this: The stereotyping of people makes it difficult for us to talk to each other. I believe that talking is a good thing and that listening is even more useful. I'm not suggesting, as sourheads do, that our society's problems will all miraculously disappear if only we learn to communicate. (There's that word again.) But I am suggesting that, without honest talking and careful listening, we cannot define the problems. And that's what I want to emphasize today: that our society has problems; that we need to communicate to define them; that we cannot communicate if we view people as stereotypes; and that we cannot talk meaningfully to anybody about anything unless first learn to *listen.* Is it just as simple as that? No, it is as difficult as that. Because it is hard to listen, and it is harder still to discard stereotypes.

We all cloud our thinking with stereotypes. Most of us are sophisticated enough to reject the obviously pernicious variety: of Negroes, or Catholics, or Jews, or French Canadians, or Orangemen. But do we also reject the new stereotypes: of student radicals, of "Hippies," of dissenters?

Not everyone does. Last week, Patrick Scott of the Toronto *Star* reviewed a CBC show on violence. Participants included ministers, leaders of the Indian community, a rabbi, students, pacifists and Quakers, and the like. Scott labelled them all, quote, "poseurs, provocateurs, malcontents and retards, all purporting to hold the salvation of mankind in their grubby little hands," unquote. He also called them "bird-brains and misfits."

That's not comment, that's abuse. That's bigotry. That's jaundiced journalism. Not only bad journalists resort to such biased reactions. When Prime Minister Trudeau was picketed in Calgary two weeks ago, Mayor Leslie promptly complained of "professional agitators and anarchists from eastern universities." He hinted that the police might have to check up on the people involved. He makes our students seem as dangerous as those "agents of Moscow" they used to quiver about so much in the 1950s, during the McCarthy era.

Sure, some young dissenters who disturb Mayor Leslie's sleep spout the quotations of Chairman Mao from his famous "little red book." The kids are welcome to Mao and his quotations. They are the only Chinese product I've found harder to digest than Moo Goo Guy Pan. May I refer at this point to The Empire Club's own "little red book" of rather longer quotations? This book explains that the Club's purpose is "to promote the interests of Canada and the British Commonwealth." Your work, it says, "has a distinctive basis of British unity."

Jolly good. In this menacing year of the Anguilla revolt I say: "Thank God for British unity." Because without it we might have lost Anguilla: The Gibraltar of the Caribbean. What a blow to the Empire that would have been! You understand, Anguilla protects the strategic island of Virgin Gorda. Heaven forbid that foreigners should ever assault Virgin Gorda. However, the Empire was saved. I can hardly wait until J. Arthur Rank makes a movie about it. I can just see John Mills and Peter Finch bravely storming the beach to be met by two little old ladies with machetes mounted on Mark II armoured swayback donkeys. Oh, Kipling. Where are you now that we really need you!

As you can see, I'm not here as a spokesman for Harold Wilson, or Cecil Rhodes. Nor, may David Ogilvy smite me down, am I here as a spokesman for advertising. Then why am I here? Because I think more businessmen should speak out in public. Mind you, we don't ever want to hear a Chamber of Commerce President rant predictably, again and again, about "creeping socialism" and "government waste." Speeches like don't communicate because nobody listens. Businessmen should speak out in public about how they plan to make our economic system work more equitably. For everyone.

I am a businessman. I am a capitalist, I guess. But that doesn't stop me from seeing flaws in our private enterprise system. I see flaws in advertising too. I speak out against them because, failing to expose them, will only compound them.

And, frankly, it's for my own self-preservation too.

Look, when an insulting commercial spews in to my neighbour's living-room, I'm suspect at that moment. She thinks I did it because I'm an adman.

All architects and engineers were suspect when the Union Carbide Building on Eglinton Avenue fell down.

When the doctor left the clamp in that poor unfortunate lady at the East General, all doctors were suspect *at that moment.*

And I often feel as Toronto Aldermen must feel every time Mayor Dennison opens his mouth to welcome a foreign dignitary to our city.

I think advertising is heading into serious trouble and it might drag many of you with it if the Government clamps control over our industry.

Avertising is in trouble because much of it treats human beings as stereotypes. The classic stereotype is "the housewife," a faceless dumb person whose biggest preoccupations in life are the whiteness of her wash, smears on her windows and hidden creepies in her toilet bowl.

To communicate with dumb people you write dumb copy. Many admen show talent for that. Witness that 60-second TV spectacular about the bride whose daddy has dandruff. Fortunately, they kill the dandruff in time for him to give the bride away. Does the quivering maiden then head into the arms of her beloved? Hell no. First things first. She takes daddy in her arms and dramatically declares: "We made it, thanks "to Head and Shoulders." Daddy then responds with a line that will go echoing down the corridors of time: "I haven't lost a daughter. I've gained a dandruff remover."

Shareholders' money paid for that commercial. And shareholders' money created such Procter and Gambolian monsters as "Josephine the Plumber"; "The Man from Glad"; and that man-made natural disaster "The White Tornado."

Admen who produce such trash won't recognize that housewives are their wives and your wife and my wife. I know that my wife is not dumb, and I'm sure your wives resent being treated like intellectual pygmies.

Condescending commercials do get a message through: the wrong one. They tell Canadian women loud and clear that some businessmen are self-inflated, opportunistic, misguided misogynists. My Funk and Wagnall says a misogynist is a woman-hater.

It's not good to have your customers think so poorly of you. We ought to know that by now.

Four years ago, the cost-of-living gave another predictable lurch. We are faced with the housewives' revolt. Remember? Before you could say "ten-cents-off," a Parliamentary Committee was holding public hearings to learn who had got the shoppers up in arms.

The Committee found that manufacturers and retailers were operating quite fairly and efficiently. But the women said to themselves, and maybe to us, if we were listening: "Efficiency phooey. That's not the problem. They're treating us like Little Orphan Annies. They're Lucky Green Stamping us into the poorhouse."

So Ottawa tried again. This time it set up the Department of Consumer Affairs. And even then, some marketing men did not get the message. Now the Department named names. One was Colgate-Palmolive. Its "Halo" shampoo bottle advertised a $1.49 special price, implying a sale. What's wrong with that? Only that the label had been saying "special price" for two years. Some special. Some sale!

And Mother Parker's instant coffee had been carrying a label saying "thirty cents off regular price" for seven months. What, pray tell, is the regular price off which the thirty cents is off?

Women have been complaining about such tactics for years. But we have not listened. We all resist listening to people from other groups. When a man has spent half a lifetime creating his own comfortable view of the world, he doesn't want it disturbed at this late stage by anything that doesn't fit the pattern. That's why so many of us insultingly label young people with long hair and beards as "hippies."

Why do we pin such labels on them? I think I know why. It's the "Lamport Syndrome." "Hippies" threaten our view of the world because they seem to get by without working. We have worked hard, so they should work hard too. Right? Our prejudice is understandable. We all grew up under the Protestant Ethic. Yes, even those of us who are White-Anglo-Saxon Jews.

Instead of listening to "hippies," we yak at them. Our idea of communication is to preach to them about the Great Depression. We resent the fact that they were born into prosperous times, like it's their fault.

But is the world we are handing them all that great? Prosperous it is – for some. But it is also a world in which business makes profits by manufacturing napalm and spends millions to persuade young people to smoke, knowing that some of them might get cancer as a result.

By the time today's toddler reaches kindergarten, he has already experienced, via television, brutal inexplicable wars, fires, floods, presidential assassinations, 3-day ritualistic funerals for ex-presidents and other disasters. He has wandered in a dream world with puppets, identified with cardboard heroes in a phony fraudulent history of the "Wild West." Fifteen hundred times a day he has received commercial messages from our world and they preach materialism first, materialism last and materialism always. Can he possibly absorb such an all-enveloping mixture of terrifying truth and nonsensical fiction and still hold strong beliefs in our system?

I for one welcomed with glee the news of the formation of Senator Keith Davey's Senate Committee to examine the performance and ownership of Canadian media.

Today's kids feel differently about some things. They tried to tell us, calmly enough at first, and when we wouldn't listen, they grew their hair and their beards simply to put an exclamation point at the end of their message. Yet, we still look at our young rebels and see the wrong things, while hearing nothing. We see hair and beards and dirty necks.

I think they're trying to tell us something we've known all along but keep trying to forget: *that our society has weaknesses.* Of course it has weaknesses. It has great strengths, too. It still has the strength to let these very kids protest. Mace and police billies are very nasty but Russian tanks in the streets of Prague are one hell of a lot nastier. We ought to remind our kids of that – if we can ever make contact with them again! Meantime we are not in Prague, we're in Toronto, and it is our kids who are saying that our society can be more "Just" than it is.

Lots of people tell us our society has flaws. We don't listen to them, either. Last week Tim Reid, a politician, reminded us loud and clear that the poor, the old, the sick, the disabled, the slum teenagers, the deserted mothers, the Indians and the Eskimos, are all outcasts of their grossly affluent society. It baits them and taunts them at every step. We tuned his message out too. Well, we say, he's exaggerating. He's a politician. He has an axe to grind. But the Dominion Bureau of Statistics says the same thing. And so does the Economic Council of Canada. "Poverty in Canada is real," says the E.C.C., "and its numbers are not in the thousands but in the millions . . . it is more than our society can tolerate." Tuesday's *Toronto Daily Star* carried a banner front page story headed "One in five Canadians in Poverty Says Economic Council."

We do not feel such truth in our bones. We don't want to. But for some of us, it finally sinks home when our sons and daughters, those very kids we have loved and fussed over – quit their jobs or leave school. They cop out. They stop washing their necks. They may be saying to us "We'll start washing our necks when you stop washing our brains. . . ."

People in power have always been frightened of real communication because it breaks down social and economic barriers. That is why South Africa still doesn't have television. It's why the U.S. television networks smothered "The Smothers Brothers." It is maybe why the Granite Club doesn't speak to the Primrose Club, and the Primrose Club doesn't speak back. It would be suitable in this time of the so-called "communications gap" for those two anachronisms to merge and move out to North York together. They could call their new place "The Granite Primrose," stony flower of tolerance and togetherness.

The under-privileged of this society will soon come to believe that only dramatic or violent action will make us listen. For fifty years, small-l liberals mouthed mealy-mouthed platitudes about how things were going to get better for the Blacks. Patience they said. For fifty years the intolerable conditions of the Black community were ignored by the white majority. It's taking riots and burning and killing to put the exclamation mark at the end of *that* message. So while "White Tornadoes" clean the walls of America's kitchens, Black Tornadoes assault the walls of America's prejudice and hate.

So you think that it can't happen here? Well, the Black Panthers have moved into Halifax. We've known for many years how bad the situation is there. And what about French-speaking Canadians? For ninety years we did not listen to them. Even though they were carefully and patiently telling us their grievances. When did we start to listen? When some bombs exploded. When some people were killed.

Even within our own corporations we have not learned to listen. In a society struggling to become truly democratic, authoritarianism hangs on like some unquestioned truth. We senior executives have plus sanctuaries on the highest floor of this city's new skyscrapers. What do we see from our private wombs-with-a-view? What do we hear in these hushed inner offices? Are we big shots by design, cutting ourselves off from the little shots? Are we scared of the men below so to speak? If so, is this because we're always so busy talking to them we don't stop long enough to hear what they have to say? Those fancy surroundings of ours are often merely broadloomed abbatoirs where new, fresh and daring ideas get slaughtered.

Entrenched corporations and entrenched trade unions have long sneered at academics for living in ivory towers. Universities are now violently learning they cannot survive as academic ivory towers. We had better dismantle our ivory towers too.

There is a revolution underway, but don't call the Redcoats. It is not a Marxist revolution. No one is going to burn down the Peace Tower or storm the new City Hall. These days the techniques of protest are far more creative than that. Some youngsters at a Toronto high school recently decided to protest school policy. They were sharing their decision with a friend of mine. "Aha," he said, "I suppose you will get committees organized, make some placards, stage a sit-in, present a petition?" They looked at him blankly. "No," they said, "we just thought we'd all take our clothes off."

How will you fight revolutionaries like that? Turn up the air conditioning?

Down deep we know that these movements and stirrings are a conscientious attempt to get democracy to finally work in this vibrant and rewarding North America. Can we not grasp, we who have power and privilege, that the underprivileged and the under-powered, our French-speaking brothers, our Indians, our Eskimos, even our own sons and daughters simply want a real say in their future.

We don't have a free democracy yet because we holders of power are reluctant to share it. We can have a democracy. We have enough wealth. We have the media if we use them for real healthy, honest, democratic communication. But there can be no real understanding without real listening. In a democracy that works, no group has to put bombs in a mailbox, loot a city or destroy a computer to get people in power to listen.

I don't condone such violent techniques. We can learn to listen without them. But I do fear that things are going to get worse before they get better. What are we men of power going to do about it? Hide deeper in our executive suites and our luncheon clubs? Will we in advertising jam people's ears with further layer upon layer of fatuous claptrap?

I'm not sure. We can't find solutions until we know the problems. We cannot know the problems until we start communicating. We cannot communicate until we first learn to LISTEN.

So I think learning to listen is part of the start of the answer. But, of course, I'm no expert. Perhaps there are no experts in this field. Which would be strange because these days we seem to be surrounded by experts on everything. Which reminds me of an enterprising fish dealer in a little fish market. He had been doing quite well, but felt that some promotion would help him do even better. So he painted a sign outside his store. It read: "Fresh Fish Sold Here."

The sign hadn't been up five minutes when one of his long-time customers came in and said "So you've got a new sign up. But why the word 'fresh'? Goes without saying your fish are fresh, otherwise they'd smell bad."

"True," said the dealer, and painted out the offending word "fresh."

Another five minutes, another customer, who was also an expert. "What do you need the word 'here' for?" this one asked. "You think people will believe you're advertising fish sold in a store somewhere else?"

"You're right," said the fish dealer. So out with the brush again to paint over the word "here."

The next expert wasn't long in coming. "You've got a new sign up," he commented. "But the word 'sold' –does any fish dealer *give* them away?"

Out came the brush and the third word was obliterated. As the dealer was climbing down from the ladder, an onlooker said, "Mister. You don't need the sign saying 'fish' outside your store. You can smell them six blocks away."

So I climbed back up the ladder, painted out the word "fish," climbed back down and padlocked the door. And I opened an advertising agency.

Thank you for being such courteous – and I stress the word – *listeners.*

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by H. Ian Macdonald.

JUNE 9, 1969

D-Day Dinner

Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of D-Day

AN ADDRESS BY Major General Sir Francis de Guingand, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O.

CHAIRMAN Lt. Col. Edward A. Royce, E.C.

LT. COL. ROBERT H. HILBORN, M.B.E.:

Mr. Chairman, Your Honour, My Lord, Mr. President, Sir Francis, distinguished head table guests, members of The Empire Club and friends.

In addition to being a forum, The Empire Club is both a tradition and a symbol and as such has a duty like all symbols to promote and maintain cultural memory. But symbols are deeply and permanently effective only when their meanings and implications are clearly understood. All men need symbols and rituals of some sort whether sacred or secular and indeed cannot do and do not do without them.

There are those who regard our honourable and traditional name as an anachronistic relic – bereft of any current validity. Granted that the word "empire" is not the current designation for the union perpetuating those strong loyalties that bind the British Commonwealth together it will continue to be an honoured and appropriate synonym as long as such a union exists.

Because the dragons are roaring with laughter at St. George being struck from the list, does this mean that England will reject his patronage as well as those societies, churches, channels and schools that bear his now unsainted name?

I suspect that the Admiral and Air Marshal present avoid referring to their proud services by the euphemistic designations decreed by our politicians. Rather than advancing the misguided cause of unification it seems to me that calling the Navy the "Sea Environment" and the Air Force the "Air Environment" tends to make fish of one and fowl of the other. Imagine referring to the Household Cavalry as "Her Majesty's Stable Environment."

While we are not a club as other clubs are and we now have a Commonwealth rather than an Empire, it would be the height of folly with our unsettled present and unpredictable future to jettison what we have found sound in our past.

I ask you, gentlemen, to charge your glasses, rise and drink with me to the continued strength of Canada's outstanding forum – The Empire Club of Canada.

MAJOR EDWARD A. DUNLOP,
G.M., O.B.E., M.P.P.:

Mr. Chairman, Gen. de Guingand, My Lord, Colonel Hilborn, Gentlemen:

I am sure that the Club deeply appreciates the thoughtful, graceful and witty toast which Colonel Hilborn has proposed.

The Club is pleased, and indeed honoured to continue to furnish a forum – as it has for 60 and more years – for discussion of matters of domestic and international importance. Far from being an anachronism, the Club is as relevant to the issues of the day as is the day itself.

As the man who knows not from whence he cometh can hardly know whither he goest, so too societies and nations. The Empire Club takes the backward glances necessary for us to know where we are, and pays honour to the institutions and events which form part of our history and of our heritage.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that the Club takes particular pride in these special occasions, these special dinners which are held to mark events of particular significance. The crucial date of June 6, 1944 has already entered history. The Club is proud and honoured to be able to mark what must be considered one of the important turning points in the story of mankind's struggle against tyranny. I am sure I speak for members of the Club – certainly for what is probably the majority of us who were not there that day – in paying grateful respect to that hardy band who were there, not only to those who did not return, but also to those who came back.

MR. JOLLIFFE:

Our distinguished guest this evening, whom I have the honour to introduce, is Major-General Sir Francis W. de Guingand, K.B.E., D.S.O. He was born early in this century, joined the Army as a 2nd lieutenant between the two wars, and among the officers with whom he served at York during that period was Major Bernard Montgomery.

Later he saw service in India and in London on the staff of the Secretary of State for War.

Early in the Second World War it was his lot to serve in North Africa at a time when many battles were won and lost. As you all know he was the 8th Army's Chief of Staff from 1942 to 1944, and in the last two and decisive years of the war he was Chief of Staff, 21 Army Group. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of his work in the planning and organization of many successful undertakings in those years.

At Agincourt, five hundred and fifty-five years ago, Henry V and his lightly-armed men routed a more powerful army, four times as large in numbers. Of that battle, Drayton said:

Battles so bravely won
Have ever to the sun
By fame been raised.

But planning and preparation had much to do with it also and the same could be said of what happened on D-Day, 25 years ago, and the campaigning which followed.

In his memoirs Lord Montgomery has described his arrival at Cairo in August, 1942, to take command of the 8th Army, and his choice of our guest as Chief of Staff. On that choice Lord Montgomery years later gave his own assessment, in these words:

"I have never regretted that decision. Freddie de Guingand and I went through the rest of the war together. Wherever I went, he came as my Chief of Staff; we journeyed side by side from Alamein to Berlin. And as we went, he grew in stature and I realized how lucky I was. He was a brilliant Chief of Staff and I doubt if such a one has ever before existed in the British Army or will ever do so again."

SIR FRANCIS:

Your honour, My Lord, distinguished guests, Mr. Chairman, and old comrades, I must say I am very touched, sir, by the very undeserved remarks you have just made. Nevertheless I thank you for them.

I also would like to thank you all for this wonderful hospitality which I have received tonight. It was a very different occasion from the one that Sir Alec Douglas Home told us about in London the other day. He apparently went to some great banquet for some organization, and the food was pretty crummy, and they could hardly get a drink (I have not noticed any problems in that respect tonight) and when an officer of this organization got up at the end of dinner to propose the toast to "absent friends" he said, "Ladies and gentlemen, will you rise and join with me in a toast to absent friends, coupled with the name of the wine-waiter!"

Now, gentlemen, I am afraid tonight it is very sad that you have not got our old chief Montgomery with you. And therefore I realize very humbly that I am receiving a certain amount of reflected glory.

I went to see him the Sunday before last and asked him to record a message to you all. I thought you might like to hear it. I found him in reasonably good heart. He has had a check-up by his doctors, who refuse to let him travel very much these days. And much as he would have liked to be here with you tonight, I am afraid he was not allowed to take the journey. However, he has recorded this message.

We talked about old times and we talked about old friends. And so many of these great commanders in the war have left us. Only two days ago we heard of the death of that very lovable man, Bimbo Dempsey. And there it is.

And he is now nearly eighty-two. But he is very alert; the mind is alert. But he says he feels his age.

He asked me to explain to you how very sorry he was he could not be with you tonight. I would like now to ask you to listen to a message from our old wartime chief, Field Marshal The Viscount Montgomery of Alamein.

Taped message from Field Marshal Montgomery:

"This is the twenty-fifth anniversary year of D-Day, June, 1944, and I had hoped to attend your dinner at Toronto tonight in remembrance of the invasion of Normandy. But the doctors intervened and said, 'No.' They further said I must undergo treatment for certain things they had found wrong.

"So instead I send you my greetings and best wishes by Sir Francis de Guingand, my Chief of Staff from Alamein to Berlin. And he will be well known to many of you.

"In this message I would like to speak mainly to those Canadians who were my comrades-in-arms during those momentous days.

"In looking back at June, 1944, we must never forget certain matters. Let me indicate a few. First, the German war was won by the close co-operation between the various forces of the allies, military and civil. And this cannot be emphasized too strongly.

"Second, the mighty weapon of air power had revolutionized the strategy and tactics of war at sea and on land. The armies could not have carried out their part in the invasion plan in Normandy without mastery in the air over the area of operations. And this we had in full measure.

"Third, notwithstanding the successful activities of the allied navy and air forces, the German war had to be won finally on land by a defeat of Hitler's armies. And this we knew when the invasion of Normandy was being planned.

"Next physical fitness was going to play an important part when the soldiers reached Normandy, whether by sea or by air. The soldiers had to be imbued with that determination and that infectious optimism which comes from physical well-being. Tiredness, fear, appalling conditions, the virtual certainty of wounds and the probability of death all will be faced by the fighting man if he has a stout heart, knows what he is fighting for, has confidence in his officers and his comrades, and if he knows he will never be required to do anything which is not possible.

"Now, these things are important. However good the planning may be there comes a time in every battle when the issue hangs in the balance. The fog of war has descended on the battle. The power then passes from the generals and goes to the soldiers. And victory will depend on their courage, their tenacity in the battle, their refusal to admit defeat, their determination to conquer or die in the attempt.

"In fact you can say that the battle is won finally by the regimental officers and men, however good the generals may be, or however bad.

"All those who took part in the invasion of Normandy on D-Day, June 6th, 1944, were quite clear about all these matters. And that is why we won."

SIR FRANCIS:

Well, gentlemen, there you have a message straight from the old war horse's mouth.

Talking of taking the place of one's senior officer, reminds me of a story when they were celebrating the end of the war in Europe.

There was a great lunch party in some town in Germany, and the admiral was asked, and the general commanding the troops was asked, and the chief airman was asked. And at the end of lunch the admiral got up, and he made a pretty good speech. And at the end of it he said how pleased he was to see the three services represented, particularly his sister service, the "Cinderella" of the services, the Royal Air Force; by a flight lieutenant, because the air marshal had got flu and had sent his ADC instead.

And then the general got up and made the same sort of speech. And he said precisely the same thing – how pleased he was to see the "Cinderella" of the three services there and this young officer taking the place of his master, et two bloody ugly sisters."

Well, the young officer, the flight lieutenant, had got pretty bored by then. He had had a few drinks. And he stood up to make his reply, and started off by saying: "I would like to remind you gentlemen that Cinderella had two bloddy ugly sisters."

Now, if I may be a little serious for a few minutes before I go on to reminiscing about one's experiences. I think nowadays, particularly amongst the young, it is not very popular to show patriotism or even pride in one's country's past achievements and sacrifices. Today we are here to celebrate and to remember an epic operation of which all those who took part as well as the countries that took part can feel justly proud. That is, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the landings in Normandy, in which the Canadian Army played so noble a part.

It is therefore right and I think it proper, that we should be proud of being associated with this great fight against oppression. One can just imagine, and this is a thing a lot of people forget; what might have happened if we had not gone to war and we had allowed Nazi Germany to rule the world.

Now, when the last war was ended I think most of us had high hopes that the sacrifice had not been in vain; that peace and understanding would come upon the world and this would be our reward. But how wrong we were. For today we see the world in turmoil. And even if we can avoid another world war (which I hope to heavens we can) all the experts say that unless something dramatic is done within the next 20 years then a most ghastly disaster will occur, because the world will run short of food, and there will be mass starvation.

Now, it is quite extraordinary, I think, if you look around and think how things have changed; how relations between countries have changed.

You have Germany, who was utterly and completely defeated, her country smashed, and now is an ally and not an enemy. She is also the most prosperous country in Europe.

You have Russia, who was a powerful ally, now a potential enemy.

You have France, a defeated ally, now a prosperous nation who has risen again under De Gaulle.

Japan, utterly defeated, now a potential ally of the West, exceedingly prosperous, and of course helped because she has not had heavy defence expenditure.

Italy, which was defeated during the war, now an ally, reasonably prosperous, but having major problems ahead because of the great gap between the rich and the poor.

And you have the United States, a powerful, prosperous nation, who is leading the West today and yet has the most ghastly problems facing her – problems involving race and poverty and differences between the various levels of their population.

Finally, you have the United Nations, which was launched with such high hopes and now is incapable of being able to solve any of the world's major problems, whether it be Viet Nam, Russian aggression, the crisis in the Middle East, or Nigeria. They seem to be quite helpless.

And at the United Nations you see the operation of the double standard, by an organization which should set an example in fair and honest dealing. There certainly seems to be, gentlemen, one law for the strong, and another for the weak.

This extraordinary change in relationships shows how quickly wounds are healed and injustice is forgotten. It is really quite a comforting thought. It also demonstrates the need to be prepared for ever-changing conditions in this world of ours. But certainly at the moment I think it would be very unwise for the West to lower its guard.

Now, who is to blame? Well, of course, one first goes for the politician.

I think here they have made by and large a pretty good mess of things. But one must be fair and say that their task has not been easy, and therefore one must look further.

I think one of the main causes has been the continuing struggle between the western way of life and Communism. The cold war has certainly not helped to resolve matters.

Then there is the battle that has gone on for the minds and the souls of the unaligned nations; namely, the developing nations. And then we have the problem of the rich nations becoming richer and the poor nations becoming poorer.

These developing nations are very impatient, and they forget that it has taken centuries for we older nations to reach the stage of civilization, development and prosperity which exists today.

Then finally there is the unrest and intolerance caused by differences of race, differences of colour, differences of religion, culture and education.

It is therefore, I think, not altogether surprising that youth in most countries today is protesting about the world they live in. They blame past leaders. They want peace and friendship; not war.

But God alone knows everyone of us here wants that, particularly we old soldiers and sailors and airmen who have seen the horrors of war.

I do believe in spite of all this that it is entirely wrong for the people of a free country not to be prepared to fight and spill their blood for their country's survival and for a cause, provided it is just.

I am afraid, gentlemen, we are a long way from the days of universal brotherhood.

I admit to being somewhat bewildered by the behaviour of students and other young people. Many appear to scorn discipline which has proved necessary in any country's progress. Many preach revolution and anarchy and oppose freedom of speech, and yet put forward virtually no practical solutions of their own.

I find it difficult to know what they do want. I think a lot of their muddled self-expression is really a quest for the fulfilment of ideals. The socially-just, materially-affluent society has just not worked out as far as they are concerned. They want something more.

And another point: I don't think student-faculty relationship in the universities is what it should be. There is certainly a problem in staffing universities, which are growing at such an enormous rate. It is not easy to find the right people.

I believe what is wanted is more of that type of officer-man relationship which we knew in the services, which served us so well in the stress and strain of war and has also served us well in peace.

Now, I was rather impressed by a recent article I read by General Mark Clark, a distinguished American general, in which he claimed: "In the long run there is no substitute for honour." He went on to say: "What we have to do is to make these young people more aware of the tremendous asset that a commitment to honour can be in their lives." For those of us who served in our country's armed forces I like to think that honour and honesty was something we understood and accepted.

In many ways, however, I am a great admirer of the young people of today. They are virile; they are highly educated; and attractive people, most of them.

Now, from all this can be seen that at the present time there is a crying need for bold and courageous leadership. Admittedly, this is not an easy thing in a democracy in peacetime. But I believe there are a great number of people who dislike complacency and are looking for this very type of direction.

Well, gentlemen, that gets rid of my more serious remarks. Now I turn to the lighter side of what I am going to say tonight.

Let me first recall some treasured memories from the past. In the time at hand it is rather difficult to make a choice. I could go on talking all night.

It rather reminds me of King Solomon who, one day after lunch, felt pretty good, and he said to his majordomo: "Will you parade all my wives in front of me?" And fifty beautiful girls were all paraded. They filed past very slinkily in very nice dresses, and the old man tugged at his beard and looked up and down and hesitated, and then he turned to his majordomo and said, "You know, I know exactly what to do, but bloody well don't know where to start!"

Well, gentlemen, I am rather faced with the same situation. It is very difficult to know where to start. I thought I'd recall two impressions that are indelibly engraved upon my memory – one at the very beginning and one at the very end of my association with Montgomery.

The first is at the opening of the Battle of El Alamein, a great moment for me, for it was our first major offensive.

When all preparations had been made and we could do nothing more from our battle headquarters, I remember driving out with a colleague in a jeep, and I saw him in that dim light those ghostlike figures moving up, the tanks, the guns, the troops. We found a sand dune somewhere behind the medium guns, and we waited, looking at our watches. And then suddenly at 21.40 hours, every gun flashed from right to the left as far as the eye could see. This great battle had started. And I remember the sort of hopes and fears I had in my heart wondering where it would all end.

I never dreamt that this battle would be the start of a campaign which would lead us from Alamein right to the very gates of Carthage.

At the very end of the war the big surrender at Supreme Headquarters was due to take place, and the acting Fuehrer had ordered Jodl, a distinguished German general on Hitler's personal staff, a great planner, this man, with a tremendous reputation, who had planned Norway and the Polish campaign, the campaign against France, and had enjoyed other tremendous successes. His fame had been on the lips of everyone in Europe, and there he was, having been brought to our airstrip at Luneberg Heath by one of the liaison officers.

I was waiting to receive him. He got out of his aeroplane with his ADC, dressed in the magnificent greatcoat of a member of the German general staff, with great scarlet epaulettes. We saluted, and I asked him to get into the aeroplane.

My personal staff had produced a damned good lunch – a couple of bottles of champagne, and all that sort of thing. And he sat down with his ADC, and he had his cap slanted over his eyes.

We flew over the Ardennes, the scene of the recent German debacle, a campaign which no doubt Jodl had a great share in planning. I asked my ADC to go over and offer him lunch. He refused a dry martini. And I remember thinking what a terrible position to be in, having been so important a general, absolutely lauded by the German people, and now going to sign the unconditional surrender of his country.

As you know, he was strung up after the Nuremberg trials.

Well, gentlemen, I will now try to choose a few incidents involving the Canadian Army, one or two of my experiences. I will take a rather lighthearted one first.

Before D-Day, on a certain evening, I was asked by General Crerar to go to Canadian headquarters to discuss various problems of the Canadian Army. And I was in the middle of a great oration from a sort of stage, with a lot of maps behind me, when someone rushed in and said, "You are wanted urgently on the telephone."

I went to the phone and was told I was the happy father of my only daughter. It was a great moment. So I rattled through my work, and then we had a few bottles and celebrated.

Eventually I was driven back to my flat in London, and we happened to bump into a very bad air raid with the usual barrages going up, et cetera. Actually I lost three of my staff officers that night in a house near St. Paul's school, which was our temporary headquarters.

The next morning I got to my office and found a message from Walter Bedell-Smith, Eisenhower's Chief of Staff, a great chum of mine, possessing a great sense of humour. It read as follows: "Heartiest congratulations, but why all the gunfire? It was only a girl."

Another vivid recollection I have involving the Canadian Army was in Normandy. It was, I think, the 28th of July. I had been trying for many, many weeks to get the strategic air forces Bomber Command, and the American 8th Air Force, to assist in the land battle. I felt it was only right that we should use everything we could to help the ground troops. But of course they had many strategic targets they had to deal with.

Eventually it was agreed by the commanders of the Air Force and General Eisenhower gave his blessing.

I remember the first time: they were used in an attack on July 18th. This was a fiasco, because we used the wrong type of bombs. We so mucked up the ground that the poor old troops really could not make any progress at all.

And then the American Army 12th Group got the 8th Air Force to support them in their attack at St. Lo. But unfortunately they clobbered their own troops. So it was not very satisfactory.

Eventually, on, I think, the 28th of July, the Canadian Army was going to have a bash and capture Caen. And we had, I think, something like 2,200 heavy bombers and medium bombers to bomb for 2½ hours from 5.45 in the morning, before the attack went in.

I remember going out with Air Marshal Cunningham, who commanded the tactical air forces in the 21st army group, and we went out together and got near where the battle was to start. We climbed up on the top of a haystack. It was a beautiful opal summer morning, and this incredible sight was before us. We saw these waves of bombers coming in, 2,200 bombers, with the Mosquitoes going first dropping their flares and marker bombs. And we witnessed the frightful devastation and it looked as if no one could ever survive. And the effect upon morale must have been terrific.

And we of course had learned our lesson and this time used fragmentary bombs, with instantaneous fuses.

And as far as I remember the attack of the Canadian Army was a success. Caen was captured.

It made a tremendous impression on me, the effect of air power in a modern war.

Gentlemen, the final example I will give you is concerning Holland. Before dinner I was talking to an old friend of mine who was intimately connected with this. This particular story I am telling is when the Dutch Resistance, which was run by Prince Bernhard, got messages to us to say the Germans would be prepared to accept food in order to help the starving Dutch.

So Eisenhower asked me whether I would represent him and meet the Germans on the Canadian front to sound them as to what they were prepared to do. He also asked me to sound them regarding surrendering.

I think it was the Canadian First Army Corps which arranged the truce. It was a fascinating experience for I had never seen one before. All was quiet and we never heard a gun fire.

We assembled at a little schoolroom in a village, and eventually two or three jeeps turned up (I met someone who was driving one last night) and there one saw these German plenipotentiaries who were blindfolded. And of course the drivers had had a wonderful time bumping them over every ditch they could find. And these poor guys arrived at the school absolutely shattered.

They got out, the scarves were removed from their eyes, and they were invited inside.

I first discussed the food problem and they seemed to be quite agreeable to accepting help; after which I gave them the message from the Supreme Commander. This was in effect that Germany was beaten and therefore the only thing they could do was to surrender. They said they would report back to their chiefs.

Then two days later Bedell-Smith, Eisenhower's Chief of Staff, came along with me and Prince Bernhard and others. And we met Seyss Inquart who was Reich Kommisar for Holland and the German Chief of Staff. It was a momentous occasion.

We had worked out plans of feeding the Dutch, which our two staffs began dealing with the details. Then Bedell-Smith, myself, Prince Bernhard and, I believe, the Canadian commander (I can't quite remember) moved to a separate room. We found a bottle or two of gin, and we passed this around. The Germans were not very backward in drinking their share. And then Bedell-Smith looked up and said, "Now, you have got to surrender." He continued, "It is useless to go on losing lives when you know you have lost the war."

Seyss Inquart replied, “This I cannot do for Hitler is still alive.”

So we said, “Yes, but his days are over.” Actually that very evening I think he shot himself.

However, I must say one could not help admiring this guy. But Bedell-Smith got tough. He said, “Look here, if you don’t surrender now General Eisenhower will hold you responsible for every allied life that is lost from now onwards, and you know what that will mean; the wall and the firing squad.”

And I remember Seyss Inquart, without a moment’s hesitation, got up and said, “I am not afraid. I am a German.”

Well, he should have been afraid, because he was strung up after Nuremberg.

If you don’t mind my just going on for another two or three minutes, I thought I would say something about our old chief, Monty, and give you some examples of his strength, and possibly touch on some of his alleged weaknesses.

First, I think his professionalism is a thing that struck me very forcibly. He really knew his job. He trained himself for High Command in war. I will tell you a little story which bears this out.

In 1937 I was up lecturing at Catterick Camp in England, and I was invited to dine with the GOC. And poor old Monty had just lost his wife and buried her, and had come up to stay with the GOC who was an old friend of his.

At the end of dinner he said, “Freddie, would you like to come for a walk with me on the moors tomorrow morning?”

And I said, “Yes, I’d be delighted.”

So we went out for a long walk on the beautiful Yorkshire moors. It was a lovely day. And all the way out climbing these moors Monty talked about his wife, getting rid of these memories. And I shall never forget at the end of the walk, we sat on a rock, and I remember him saying to me, "Well, Freddie, that is now all behind me; that must be forgotten. It is finished. Nothing can put it right." He continued, "I know there is going to be a major war and, from now onwards, I am going to devote every moment of my time to train myself in the art of high command."

I thought that was most prophetic. And thank God he did.

I think probably his greatest asset was his ability to inspire confidence. And I don't think you could have a better example than the first day he arrived to take over command of the 8th Army. I had to go and meet him at the crossroads outside Alexandria on a very hot and sultry morning in August. We drove up in the car together, and he told me to get everyone I could find from the staff to foregather that evening on the Ruweisat Ridge, which my old colleague, Neil Ritchie, will know well. A horrible place. And he was going to talk to them. And I shall never forget that talk – it was a remarkable achievement.

The 8th Army was a bit bewildered by being knocked around by Rommel. And he said, "We are going to change the atmosphere." He was quite confident we were going to hit Rommel for six right out of North Africa. And there was now only going to be one plan. At the time there were quite a number of plans – staying where we were; going forward; going south; et cetera. And he said, "The only plan now is to stay where we are; we fight where we are; and, if necessary, we die where we are." And I remember what a wonderful sort of feeling he gave us. He said, "Now it is quite simple; you know what to do."

I might say I was not very keen on sort of dying with him! However, it gave one a sort of cosy feeling that you knew exactly what you had to do.

He told us the Prime Minister had promised him reinforcements of troops and weapons and tanks and aircraft. And they were badly needed, as you well know. In those days before Monty arrived, I sometimes wondered how the 8th Army ever survived. We had frightful equipment. Our tanks were quite useless, so were the anti-tank guns, for their shells just bounced off the enemy tanks, and the enemy had virtual command of the air at that time. And some of the troops were not properly trained. And I am sure Neil Ritchie will bear me out when I say that the poor old 8th Army in those days had a most ghastly job, and that our task was very much easier when we received all the sinews of war.

Monty went on to say, "I am not going to attack until I am ready. No one is going to push me. I am going to wait." He said, "I know that Rommel is preparing to attack us. If he attacks within a fortnight, I shan't be too happy. If he attacks after a fortnight I will be delighted." He attacked eventually just after a fortnight.

And he said he would have no doubters. If there were any, they could push off. He would have no bellyaching.

In those days an extraordinary practice was to be found in the 8th Army. If an order was given, the commander concerned would often say, "I don't think that is a very good order; I am not going to carry it out."! It only required 48 hours of Monty's command and they knew they damned well had to.

Then of course there was his non-flappability. He was quite remarkable in that respect. To me he was at his really greatest when things were pretty bad; when things were pretty dicy. He never got in a flap.

And I virtually never woke him up during the night. I remember two particular occasions. One was the second night of Alamein at battle headquarters. I got some disturbing reports and I went to see some of the guys concerned, and found progress was very sticky in one of those lanes where we were trying to break through their defences. And I realized things were bogging down.

So I summoned the corps commander concerned and in addition the divisional generals and told them to report to our battle headquarters at three-thirty in the morning.

I then woke Monty up. He said, "What? What is this?" when I banged on his caravan, which was dug into the sand dunes by the sea.

I said, "I have ordered this conference at three-thirty," and explained why.

He said, "Excellent; I will be there."

And I will never forget the way he handled that situation – firmly, understandingly; but those chaps when they left knew they had to get on with the job. And they did; by morning things had started moving again.

I was not quite so happy the other time I woke him up. It was when Rommel attacked us on the 31st of August, which was his last effort to get the Delta. Suddenly at about one o'clock in the morning reports came in that showed Rommel was on the march doing one of his big right hooks.

I was very new with Monty. I thought, well, this is something of great importance and the army commander would like to know. So I banged on his caravan door and, after a long time I heard a grunt, "What do you want?"

I went in there and told him this great news.

I said, "I thought you might be a bit interested."

And he said, "What the hell can I do? I have made my plans; don't wake me up in future, please."

So I left, my tail between my legs.

Also of course he was a very good picker of his commanders and staff. I have got to say that because he picked me as his Chief of Staff.

But I am afraid that he and I do not quite agree on the story that he tells in his memoirs of how he chose me as Chief of Staff.

In his memoirs he tells the story (we heard a bit of it tonight) of how driving up with me he was thinking, "Now, is this the guy to be my Chief of Staff? He is quite opposite to me. He likes drink; I never touch the stuff. He likes his food; I hardly eat. He likes gambling; I never gamble." I think – I am told he said, "He is rather fond of women, and I really don't think much of them." And I am told the publishers cut that out.

However, he then said, "I decided opposites were a good thing, and I therefore decided to retain Freddie de Guingand."

That is his version. My version is that one morning, about five or six days after he had taken over the 8th Army, he whistled me into his caravan and said, "Freddie, sit down, will you? Now, I don't want you to be hurt by what I say."

So I said, "All right, sir; I certainly shan't be hurt."

He said, "I had a chief of staff in England when I trained, and when I left I did say to him I would be getting him out to be my Chief of Staff of the 8th Army. Therefore, if that is my decision, I hope you won't be hurt, because any job you would like, you just tell me and you will get it."

I said, "That is all right, sir." And I left the caravan. I didn't feel at all disappointed. I remember feeling a hell of a wave of relief come over me. I was not going to have to work for this allegedly difficult chap.

But however I was saved by Rommel, because about four or five days later Rommel attacked – his last effort to get Egypt. And things went very well. And, strangely enough, neither Monty nor I ever mentioned that meeting in the caravan until about three or four years after the war.

I don't want to single out Monty's weaknesses, but this is by way of explanation.

A lot of people say he was not enterprising enough; that he didn't take enough risks; and he was too careful.

I think possibly to some extent that is justified. But on the other hand I can assure you of this: I think he sometimes may have delayed attacks and was over-cautious, but in the end he achieved the successes which he was aiming at. And he used to say, "Now, by waiting I have saved thousands of lives." He was very conscious of that.

I always had great sympathy for him when he was being pressed to do something and he said, "I am not ready; I am waiting until I am balanced and ready." And in the end he often achieved success very much more cheaply than would have been the case, in terms of human lives.

I think sometimes he was a little intolerant of those who disagreed with him, particularly my very dear friend who died not very long ago, General Eisenhower. I thought he was a magnificent man, supreme in his job, who had a wonderful career, and had such human qualities it was not true.

And then sometimes I think he over-simplified. Yet in the great complexity of war, and even in modern life today, it is quite refreshing to get someone who can face a problem and analyse it in a simple way. But possibly he did over-simplify on occasions.

But I don't hold that against him. I think he was a remarkable soldier, and one that we should thank our stars for, and I feel I was honoured to have been associated with him through so long a period.

Before I close, if I may – if I have time – I would like to tell you three short stories which demonstrated Monty's character, his determination and his confidence.

For the first one I am sorry Guy Simonds isn't here. It rather involves him. When we were landing in Sicily and the Canadian Division was going to have its baptism of fire in Sicily, and Guy Simonds was going to fight his first battle, a very distinguished Canadian general sent a signal to Monty saying he proposed to land in Malta, and see Guy fight his first battle. Monty was however very fussy about visitors on such occasions. He said, "Certainly not; I am not going to have this." So he signalled back. And he got a rocket from Churchill saying, "You can't say that sort of thing."

He then said, "Well, I will just see what Guy Simonds thinks." So he sent a signal to Guy Simonds, and he told him that this distinguished Canadian general was proposing to come and see him fight his first battle; what were his reactions to this?

And a very sharp signal came back: "For God's sake, keep him away."

So this gentleman, I am afraid, did not join us until the campaign in Sicily was more or less over. When he did join us, I think peace was more or less established.

This is a rather good story to show Monty's complete confidence in himself. This occurred after the war in South Africa, where I was living at the time. The late King and Queen were paying a visit to South Africa and had taken over the Governor-General's house in Pretoria. They had very kindly asked myself and my wife to come and spend Sunday with them and have lunch. There was just the Royal Family present.

Just at that moment I had published my first book, and it was being serialized in the Sunday papers. And this was a Sunday.

When we sat down to lunch I was sitting opposite the King and Queen, and the King said, "Look here, why didn't you send me a copy of your book?"

And I said, "Sorry, sir; I didn't think you really wanted one, but if you would like one I will certainly see you get one tomorrow morning."

And then the Queen said, "I am sure the King would like you to inscribe it and to autograph it."

So I said, "I will certainly do that."

And she said, "But I would suggest you don't follow the example of your illustrous chief."

Monty had published a book shortly after the war – two books on the campaigns, a sort of factual account of the campaigns. And I said, "Well, what did he say?"

She said, "He sent the book to the King without being asked, and he wrote in the flyleaf, 'Your Majesty will find this book intensely interesting'."

So when I saw Monty next I told him the story. And his face never changed. He looked rather surprised, and he said, "What the hell is wrong with that? It *was* interesting, wasn't it?"

And I had to explain that authors really ought to be a little bit careful about pushing their wares.

That is what one loves about Monty; he is a very human creature.

The only other story I have got is after the war when he was appointed CIGS, and when he got to the War Office, he suddenly realized that the First Sea Lord had a house and servants and the Chief of the Air Staff had a house and servants and the poor old CIGS, head of the Army, did not have a house or any servants.

So he minuted his request in one of those awful files which went to the Treasury, and he said, "I want a house and I want some servants. I am a bachelor, and I am not going to cook my own food."

So after endless delay it came back from the Treasury saying, "This is quite impossible. It has never been allowed. It has not been done in the past. There is no authority for it."

He has shown me the file (he keeps all these files) and he said, "Right; if you do not authorize a house and servants I am proposing to bring up my caravan from my house in the country, and I shall live in Hyde Park."

Well, the file came rocketing back, and they agreed to a house and servants.

Well, I must thank you again, sir, and you, gentlemen, for asking me tonight. I thoroughly enjoyed it. It is wonderful to meet old comrades. And your hospitality has been terrific.

If I may just finish with a story (you have probably heard it before), Monty was a great friend of Winston Churchill after the war and often used to dine with the Prime Minister and Mrs. Churchill. They were great friends. And old Winston had several strokes. When he became ill, Clem Churchill always sent for Monty, who used to take over the running of the house. Monty once told me: "Well, you know, he is a wonderful chap. I have to admire him. Only a day or two after that stroke he was in bed and I had to go and see him about nine-thirty in the morning. I went to his bedroom and there he was propped up on several pillows wearing a nightshirt with a sort of cap on his head. And he was looking very grim and in his hand was a very strong-looking whisky and soda."

At a family dinner party – poor old Winston had to be helped with his food by a nurse on either side of him. During one such dinner he had said nothing the whole of dinner. Monty tells this story. At the end of dinner they cleared things away, and then goblets were put in front of the three people dining. And the butler came along and gave old Winston a jolly good dollop of brandy. And Monty said, "No, thank you." And then Clem had some brandy as well.

And suddenly old Winston's eyes began to sparkle, and he grabbed the goblet. He had a jolly good swig and swallowed it. Then he turned to Monty, and said, "Monty, you are not drinking brandy?"

Monty said, "Oh, Winston, you know I never touch brandy; I never drink alcohol. You know that as well as I do."

Another pause. Winston had another good swig at the brandy. His eyes cleared again, and he looked across at Monty, and said, "All good generals drink brandy."

So Monty said, in that very modest way of his, "I think I was a pretty good general. So did you, Winston, didn't you?"

Another pause. Another swig of the brandy. And then Winston focused his eyes on Monty and said, "If you had drunk brandy you would have been a better general."

The final story about Winston and Monty during the war is when the 12th Army group – I think it was the 9th Army under Simonds, had just captured the Siegfried Line. He had heard of this great defence which was supposed to be impregnable, built by Hitler, and he was very keen to have a look at it. It was March in 1945, terribly cold, with snow on the ground. And they had been driving for a long way.

When Monty, sitting next to Winston, was feeling the strain, he turned to the Prime Minister and said, "Look here, sir, don't you think you would like a sanitary halt?"

Winston said, "What did you say, Monty?"

Monty repeated what he had said about the need for a stop.

Winston said, "How far is it to the Siegfried Line?"

Monty replied, "I think about 20 miles."

So Winston said, "I'll wait."!

Well, gentlemen, that, you will be pleased to hear, is the end.

Finally, I think we ex-servicemen must keep alive those priceless lessons which we learned in war, particularly those of comradeship and self-sacrifice. I think these qualities are so badly needed today, and they should be passed down to the younger generation and not forgotten. We carry a torch which must never be allowed to be extinguished.

Thank you very much.

Thanks of the meeting were expressed by H. Ian Macdonald.

October 17th, 1969

The Members,
The Empire Club of Canada,
TORONTO, Ontario.

Gentlemen,

We report that we have examined the attached Balance Sheet of The Empire Club of Canada as at 30th April, 1969 and the attached Statement of Surplus for Continuation of Club Activities and Statement of Operations for the year ended on that date. Our examination included a general review of the accounting procedures and, subject to the following, such tests of accounting records and other supporting evidence as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

Income from Membership Fees and proceeds of sale of Luncheon Tickets are in accordance with the books of the Club. However due to inadequacies in control and recording we were unable satisfactorily to verify the income from these sources and to satisfy ourselves as to the adequacy or otherwise of the Estimated Provision of $1,000.00 for Unpresented Luncheon Tickets.

Office Furniture and Equipment is carried on the Balance Sheet at a nominal value of $1.00.

Subject to the foregoing, we report that, in our opinion, these Statements present fairly the financial position of the Club as at 30th April, 1969 and the results of its operations for the year ended on that date in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles.

Reported by,
H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY, & COMPANY
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
Honorary Auditors

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH APRIL, 1969

1968	ASSETS		1969
	Current Assets:		
$3,621.45	Cash on Hand and in Bank	$2,634.19	
—	Accounts Receivable	245.25	
—	Prepaid Expenses	25.00	
$3,621.45			$2,904.44
	Investment at Cost:		
5,757.25	Government of Canada Bonds 4½% maturing 1st September, 1983, Par Value $6,000.00 (Market Value 30th April, 1969 $4,447.50)		5,757.25
1.00	*Office Furniture and Equipment at Nominal Value*		1.00
$9,379.70			$8,662.69

LIABILITIES AND SURPLUS

	Current Liabilities:		
$ 913.14	Accounts Payable	$2,806.36	
148.00	Membership Fees received in Advance	190.00	
1,100.00	Estimated Provision for Unpresented Luncheon Tickets	1,000.00	
$2,161.14			$3,996.36
7,218.56	*Surplus for Continuation of Club Activities*		4,666.33
$9,379.70			$8,662.69

NOTE: At 30th April, 1969 the Club was committed to publish the 1968-69 Year Book at an estimated cost of $7,500.00.

Certified as per our attached Report of this date.

H. T. JAMIESON, LEMAY, & COMPANY
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
Honorary Auditors.

Toronto, Ontario.
17th October, 1969.

STATEMENT OF SURPLUS FOR CONTINUATION OF CLUB ACTIVITIES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1969

Balance 30th April, 1968	$ 7,218.56
Add:	
Life Membership Fees Received	–
	$ 7,218.56
Deduct:	
Net Loss on Operations for Year	2,552.23
Balance 30th April, 1969	$ 4,666.33

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH APRIL, 1969

Income:		
Membership Fees		$22,734.00
Proceeds from Sale of Year Book		29.25
Interest Received on Bonds		270.00
Proceeds from Sale of Luncheon and Dinner Tickets	$14,399.75	
Add:		
Decrease in amount provided for Unpresented Tickets	100.00	14,499.75
Miscellaneous		7.50
		$37.540.50
Expenditure:		
Bank Charges and Exchange		$ 43.79
Canada Pension Plan		70.02
Donations		50.00
Furniture and Fixtures		173.20
Luncheon and Dinner Expense, excluding amount pertaining to Head Table and Publicity		15,128.21
Luncheon and Dinner Expense pertaining to Head Table		1,189.81
Members' Notices		5,733.04
Membership Promotion		136.42
Miscellaneous		335.00
Music		260.00
Printing, Stationery and Postage		942.75
Publicity and Photographs		1,113.24
Recording		256.00
Rent		1,467.66
Speakers' Expense		434.43
Telephone and Telegraph		383.38
Secretarial Services		4,960.00
Unemployment Insurance		61.40
Year Book Costs		7,354.38
		$40,092.73
Net Loss on Operations for the Year		$ 2,552.23

NOTE: Classification for Expenditures in the current year has been substantially changed from the classification employed in the prior year and accordingly comparative figures for the prior year are not directly comparable and have been omitted from the above Statement.

1969-1970 *Officers and Board of Directors*

Honorary President	HIS EXCELLENCY, THE RIGHT HON. ROLAND MICHENER, C.C., C.D., GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA
Honorary Vice-President	THE HON. W. ROSS MACDONALD, P.C., C.D., LL.D., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF ONTARIO

Officers

President	H. IAN MACDONALD
First Vice-President	DR. H. V. CRANFIELD
Second Vice-President	H. N. R. JACKMAN
Third Vice-President	LT. COL. P. W. HUNTER, C.D.
Secretary-Treasurer	D. H. W. BATH
Honorary Secretary	MAJOR E. A. DUNLOP, G.M., O.B.E., M.P.P.
Honorary Treasurer	MARVIN B. GELBER
Honorary Assistant Secretary	NORMAN BORINS, Q.C.
Honorary Assistant Treasurer	R. RALPH FORD
Honorary Auditor	H. T. JAMIESON, F.C.A.

Board of Directors

P. J. AMBROSE
R. L. ARMSTRONG
G. L. CARRUTHERS
J. H. CORRIGAN, Q.C.
ALFRED H. COWLING
DR. C. B. CRUMNEY
HIS WORSHIP
  MAYOR WM. DENNISON
W/C H. G. GILLINGHAM
GRAHAM M. GORE
GORDON E. GRUNDY
WILLIAM H. HARRIS
CMDRE. R. I. HENDY,
  V.R.D., C.D., Q.C.
PETER HERMANT
CHARLES C. HOFFMAN
VERY REV. E. M. HOWSE,
  S.T.M., PH.D., D.D.
JOHN IRWIN
E. B. JOLLIFFE, Q.C.
MAJ. GEN. GEORGE KITCHING,
  C.B.E., D.S.O., O.ST.J., C.D.

HON. A. F. LAWRENCE, Q.C.
H. ALLAN LEAL, Q.C., LL.D.
DAVID MEYNELL
W. MALCOLM MCINTYRE
DR. JAMES A. PARISH
JOSEPH H. POTTS, Q.C.
R. A. ROBERTSON
STEPHEN B. ROMAN
DR. MURRAY G. ROSS
LT. COL. E. A. ROYCE, E.D.
R. BREDIN STAPELLS, Q.C.
COL. J. G. K. STRATHY, O.B.E., E.D.
JOHN M. THOMPSON
LT. COL. J. G. WASTENEYS, C.D.
G/CAPT. R. C. A. WADDELL, D.S.O., D.F.C.
R. J. WOOD

Immediate Past President EDWARD B. JOLLIFFE, Q.C.

Past Presidents GRAHAM M. GORE
R. BREDIN STAPELLS, Q.C.
LT. COL. E. A. ROYCE, E.D.

Constitution

As amended April 27th, 1967.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CLUB

ARTICLE I

Name

1. The name of the club shall be The Empire Club of Canada.

Purpose and Object

2. The purpose and object of the club is to promote the interests of Canada and the British Commonwealth by the consideration and discussion of subjects and events relating thereto and by any other means appropriate to the facilities of the club.

MEMBERSHIP

ARTICLE II

Classes of Members

1. The membership of the club shall consist of:
   - (a) Honorary members
   - (b) Life members
   - (c) Regular members
   - (d) Corporate members

   All members of classes (a), (b), (c) must be of the full age of eighteen years.

Honorary Members

2. Honorary members may be elected by the unanimous vote of those present at a meeting of the board of directors. They shall be exempt from the payment of fees but shall not have the privilege of voting or holding

office and their membership shall be terminable at any time by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors.

Life Members

3. Members of the club in good standing (other than corporate members) and other persons regularly proposed may be elected life members by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors. Life members shall pay such a fee in one sum as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors.

Regular Members

4. Save as provided in Section 5 of this Article candidates for regular membership shall be proposed by a member in good standing and shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board of directors.

   Save as provided in Section 5 of this Article regular members shall pay respectively such annual fees as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors. Members elected after the first day of March in any year shall pay one annual fee only in respect of the period from the date of election until the thirtieth day of September in the following year. No member in arrears for fees after January 1 shall be considered in good standing.

Corporate Members

5. Any company, partnership or business organization shall be eligible for election as a corporate member. Applicants shall be proposed by a member in good standing and the application shall contain the names and positions of the persons nominated by the applicant as its representative regular members. The applicant and its nominated representatives shall be elected by a two-thirds majority of those present at a meeting of the board

of directors. A corporate member shall be entitled to nominate such number of its representative regular members as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors and shall pay such annual fee as may be fixed from time to time by the board of directors, provided that such fee shall not be less than the aggregate fees which would have been payable on an individual basis by such representative members for the year in question. Save as in this section provided no fee shall be payable by or in respect of the representative regular members of a corporate member.

DIRECTORS

ARTICLE III

Duties and Powers

1. The affairs of the club shall be managed by a board of directors who may exercise all such powers and do all such acts and things as may be exercised or done by the club and are not by the by-laws or by law directed or required to be done by the club at a general meeting of its members. At all meetings of the board of directors the Chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote.

Number and Quorum

2. The board of directors shall consist of forty members of whom sixteen shall constitute a quorum. The board of directors shall include at least four past presidents of the club, one of whom shall be the immediate past president and three others shall be the three past presidents immediately preceding the immediate past president if they are willing and able to act as directors.

Election of Directors

3. A nominating committee consisting of five members of the board of directors and four other regular members

from among the members for the unexpired portion of the term of office of the person whose office is vacant.

OFFICERS

ARTICLE IV

1. The officers shall consist of an Honorary President, an Honorary Vice-President, a President, First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents, an Honorary Treasurer, an Honorary Secretary and a Secretary-Treasurer. The board of directors may from time to time elect or appoint such other officers as it shall deem necessary. The President and the Vice-Presidents shall be directors of the club but other officers need not be directors. No person other than the Honorary President and the Honorary Vice-President shall be eligible for office unless he is a member in good standing. The President shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the members and of the board of directors. During the absence or inability to act of the President, the Vice-Presidents in order of seniority shall act as Chairman at such meetings and otherwise perform and exercise the duties and powers of the President.

Appointment of Officers

2. The board of directors shall meet as soon as convenient after their election for the purpose of appointing the officers of the club for the period ending April 30 in the next year but each officer shall continue in office until his successor is elected.

Casual Vacancies

3. In the event of a vacancy occurring in any office the board of directors may fill the vacancy for the unexpired portion of the term.

Honorary Auditor

4. An Honorary Auditor shall be appointed at each annual meeting. An audited statement of the finances of the club for the fiscal year shall be published annually and a copy shall be sent to each member.

COMMITTEES

ARTICLE V

1. The following standing committees and the chairman of each shall be appointed by the board of directors as soon as convenient after the election of the board:
   (a) Budget and Finance Committee
   (b) Speakers Committee
   (c) Membership Committee
   (d) Constitution Committee
   (e) Reception Committee
   (f) Publicity and Public Relations Committee
   (g) Year Book Committee
   (h) Head Table Committee
   provided that for any year the board of directors may by resolution elect not to appoint any one or more of such committees.
2. The President or the board of directors may from time to time appoint such other committees as may be deemed expedient.

MEETINGS OF MEMBERS

ARTICLE VI

General Meetings

1. The club shall hold general meetings weekly, if possible, from October to April, both inclusive, in each twelve months with such intermissions as may from time to

time be determined by the board of directors. Special meetings of the club may be called at any time by the President.

Annual Meeting

2. The annual meeting shall be held not later than April 30 in each year. At the annual meeting a report of the year's proceedings and work shall be submitted by the President and this report shall be accompanied by an interim report from the Secretary-Treasurer.

Notice of Meetings

3. Written notice of all meetings of members shall be given all members of the club before the date on which the meeting is to be held. Such notice shall be sufficient if addressed to the members, and deposited post paid in the post office in Toronto. The accidental failure or omission to give notice to any member shall not invalidate the proceedings at any meeting.

Quorum at Meetings

4. Sixteen members in good standing shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the club, general, annual or special, and the Chairman of the meeting shall have a casting vote.

Limitation of Business at General Meetings

5. No business other than the hearing of the addresses shall be introduced at any meeting of the club by any person other than the chairman of the meeting, unless it has been submitted to the board of directors and received its approval.

FISCAL YEAR

ARTICLE VII

The fiscal year of the club shall end on such day in each year as may be fixed by the board of directors but unless so fixed by the board shall end on April 30th.

AMENDMENTS

ARTICLE VIII

Subject to the provisions of The Corporation Act this constitution may be amended by the board of directors, but unless in the meantime confirmed by a majority of the members present in person at a meeting of the members duly called for that purpose, any amendment is effective only until the next annual meeting of members unless so confirmed thereat and, in default of such confirmation thereat ceases to have effect at and from that time, and in that case no new amendment of the same or like substance has any effect until confirmed at a meeting of the members.

Membership

HONORARY MEMBERS

Field Marshal Earl
Alexander of Tunis, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
Cartwright, John R, The Hon. Chief Justice of Canada
Clouse, Major Frank
Comber, Walter W.
Daniels, D. K., O.B.E.
Frost, Hon. Leslie M., Q.C.
Gardiner, F. G., Q.C.
Geary, Major B. H., V.C.
Gillespie, Lt. Col. George H.
Mansfield, S. J.
Miles Ernest
Osborne, Col. J. Ewart

LIFE MEMBERS

Allan, William N.
Anderson, D. S.
Ash, W. M. V.
Bassett, J.
Batty, Joseph
Baxter, Ian S.
Baxter, Major James, M.C.
Beare, S. E.
Beatty, D. S.
Berkinshaw, R. C.
Best, Douglas W.
Borins, Norman, Q.C.
Bovey, E. C.
Boyles, Thomas A.
Burns, Charles F. W.
Caswell, W. A., J.P.
Cobham, Arthur H.
Cosens, G. G.
Craig, Lt. Col. John A. D.
Cranfield, Dr. Harold V.
Crummey, Dr. Clarence B.
Davies, Rev. E.
Deacon, Fraser
Douglas, Lt. Col. R. G.
Du Vernet, E. A., Q.C.
Eaton, Donald L. H.
Eisen, Sol.
Fletcher, S. S.
Frost, Lt. Col. C. S. Jr., Q.C.
Gillingham, W/C Harold G.
Goldring, Dr. C. C.
Gore, Graham M.
Griffin, Ian A.
Griffin, John W.
Harpham, H.
Hellyer, Hon. Paul T., P.C., M.P.
Hermant, Adam B. T.
Hermant, John D.
Hermant, Peter
Hermant, Sydney
Hilborn, Lt. Col. Robt. H., M.B.E.
Hoffman, Charles C.
Hogg, Lt. Col. N. D., M.B.E., E.D.
Hough, T. E.
Howse, T. H.
Hughes, James O.
Inwood, A. E. M.
Jackman, H. N. R.
Jackman, H. R., Q.C.
Jamieson, H. T.
Johnston, W. D.
Joyce, James H.
Jupp, Lt. Col. D. H., O.B.E.
Karn, William M.
Kent, J. Palmer, Q.C.
Keys, N. A., M.C., Q.C.
Lambert, A. T.
Lawson, H. R.
Legge, Col. B. J., Q.C., E.D.
Low, Steven
MacKay, Hon. Keiller
Mackinnon, Lt. Col. A. P.
Matthews, Maj. Gen. A. B.
Matthews, Brig. F. B., C.B.E., Q.C.
McCrimmon, Maj. J. S. G.

McKinnon, N. J.
Michener, His Excellency
 Hon. D. R., P.C., Q.C., LL.D.
Mikkila, W. G.
Neelands, D. G.
Pallett, John C.
Parish, Dr. James A.
Ridley, John B.
Roman, S. B.
Rosen, A. E.
Royce, Lt. Col. E. A., E.D.
Sandy, J.
Scythes, J. A.
Smeed, J. R.
Stark, Alexander, Q.C.
Strathy, Col. J. G. K.
Sullivan, Hon. Dr. J. A.
Thompson, Eric F.
Thomson, Garth O.
Thomson, K. R.
Turner, Capt. T. C.
Waldie, Gordon
Watkins, William B.
Williams, J. K.
Wotherspoon, Brig. G. D. De S.

REGULAR

Abbey, Robert
Abel, Albert S.
Abernethy, Lt. Col. W. W.
Abram, George S.
Acomb, S. R.
Adair, Joseph
Adams, A. H.
Adams, G. W.
Adams, Graham
Adams, J. C.
Adams, Nevin R.
Adams, Ross H.
Adams, W. H.
Adamson, Edwin F.
Adamson, G. A.
Adamson, Walter
Adye, Rev. Canon E. R. G.
Agar, Harold A.
Aggett, A. H., M.R.A.I.C.
Agius, Walter
Aiken, Lloyd T.
Aikenhead, James M.
Aird, A. E.
Aitchison, Ian A.
Aitchison, R. J.
Alberts, Edgar T.
Albery, A. C. R.
Alderwick, Trevor
Alexander, H. H.
Allan, Dr. Blandford
Allen, Ivan V.
Allen, John F.
Allen, Dr. Michael S.
Allen, R. D.
Allen, W.R., Q.C.
Allingham, N. W.
Allison, A.
Allward, P. A.
Amato, L.
Ambrose, Sheriff P. J.
Amos, J. L.
Ander, Morris
Anderson, J. B.
Anderson, J. Murray
Anderson, Dr. T. W.
Anderson, Lt. Gen. W. A. B.
Andras, K. B.
Andreae, H. C.
Andrunyk, S. F.
Anglin, Dr. Crawford S.
Angus, D. L.
Annett, D. R.
Anthony, R. F. K.
Apple, B. Nixon, Q.C.
Appleton, C. N.
Appleton, D. C.
Arbuckle, W. Walter
Archbold, Wm. D.
Archer, Wm. L., Q.C.
Archibald, C. R., Q.C.
Arena, John
Argue, D. R.
Armour, Dr. E
Armour, A. Douglas
Armstrong, A. S.
Armstrong, G. E.
Armstrong, Jas A.
Armstrong, P. C.

Armstrong, Robert L.
Armstrong, T. E.
Arthur, B. R.
Arthur, John G.
Ashley, S. E.
Astle, G. W.
Astley, D. B.
Atherton, C.
Attewell, W. C.
Auburn, F. W.
Auden, M. F.
Austin, Frank
Austin, J. Jarvis

Babcock, Harold A.
Bagshaw, B. F.
Bailey, H. V.
Bailey, William K.
Bailie, A. A.
Bainard, R. H.
Baines, Frederic P.
Baker, Allan D.
Baker, Rev. A. Gordon
Baker, C. C. M.
Baker, George
Baker, J. R.
Balfour, H. K.
Balfour, Norman E.
Ball, Gordon R.
Ball, J. R.
Ballantyne, W. Robt.
Band, Philip E.
Banner, Mac
Bantin, Chas. E.
Barber, D. J.
Barber, Col. J. R., E.D., C.D.
Barber, William
Barclay, D. F.
Bardsley, J. W.
Bark, Chad F.
Barnes, Major F. A.
Barnsley, E. R.
Barrett, L. C., Q.C.
Barron, Christopher
Barstow, J. M.
Bate, Wm. B.
Bates, George H.
Bates, Dr. Gordon
Bath, Donald H. W.
Bawden, H. N.

Baxter, Wm. H.
Bayes, W. E.
Baylis, Roy E.
Beamish, King J.
Beattie, A. L., Q.C.
Beattie, C. M.
Beauchamp, Walter N.
Beckerman, Irving
Bedford-Jones, C. E. B.
Bedford-Jones, Canon H.
Beeston, George H.
Belak, Nicholas
Bell, B. D. Gordon
Bell, C. B.
Bell, Clarence W.
Bell, D. R.
Bell, J. Donald, Q.C.
Bell, Norman B.
Bell, N. H.
Bell, Norman O.
Bell, W. E.
Belyea, Abner B.
Belyea, Roy E.
Ben, George
Bengert, Ernest C.
Benitz, John C.
Bennett, Bryan C.
Bennett, David T.
Bennett, Jacob M., Q.C.
Bennett, Rev. Reginald M.
Bentley, A. F.
Berghuis, Wm. W.
Bernard, Emile M.
Bernard, Paul J.
Berner, W. G.
Berry, J. Wilson
Best, Gordon H.
Best, Peter
Biback, Norman
Bick, Charles O.
Biddell, John L.
Biggs, G. L.
Biggs, Stanley C., Q.C.
Bilbrough, W. H.
Billes, A. W.
Birchall, L. J.
Bird, Robt. A.
Birmann, E. K.
Birrell, L. P.
Birrell, Dr. Russell G.

Blachford, H. A.
Black, James J.
Black, Paul F.
Blain, Lysle K.
Blair, L. E.
Blair, S. M.
Blair, W. D'Arcy
Blair, Willis L.
Blake, Parker G.
Blanchard, H. A.
Blane, Robert
Blay, J. A.
Bleeker, D. F.
Boddy, R. Paul
Boehmer, J. W.
Boileau, G. A.
Bolin, A. P.
Bolke, H.
Bond, Arthur S.
Bonnycastle, Law C.
Bonus, W. H.
Bonyun, Denis F.
Booth, Dr. C. W.
Borins, Prof. Stephen
Bosanquet, L. C.
Botnick, Harry P.
Bourne, F. R.
Bourne, J. H.
Bowden, Frank
Bowden, John A.
Bowen, E. L.
Bowen, Walter M.
Bower, M. E.
Bowes, David
Boyce, W. M.
Boyko, Jos.
Boyle, B. E.
Boyle, J. A.
Boylen, M. James
Boylen, Lt. Col. P. F.
Brace, Wm.
Bradshaw, James A.
Bradshaw, Robert H.
Bragg, Floyd H.
Bragg, R. W.
Brain, George M.
Braithwaite, L. A.
Bramm, Geo. V., M.E.I.C.
Brander, F. Gerald
Brannan, C. C.
Brannon, Carl E.
Branson, C.
Brant, Reuben
Breckenridge, R. J.
Brent, John E.
Brethour, E. J.
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Fowler, Scott
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Fraser, Hon. Mr. Justice Neil
Freeman, D. H.
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Garlick, R. D.
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Grant, R. H.
Grasett, H. W. S.
Gravely, Patrick
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Price, Harry I.
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Procter, W. Harley
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Shipp, Gordon S.
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Smith, Gordon F.
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Smith, Lewis C.
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Somerville, Marc J.
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